Vietnam Courier

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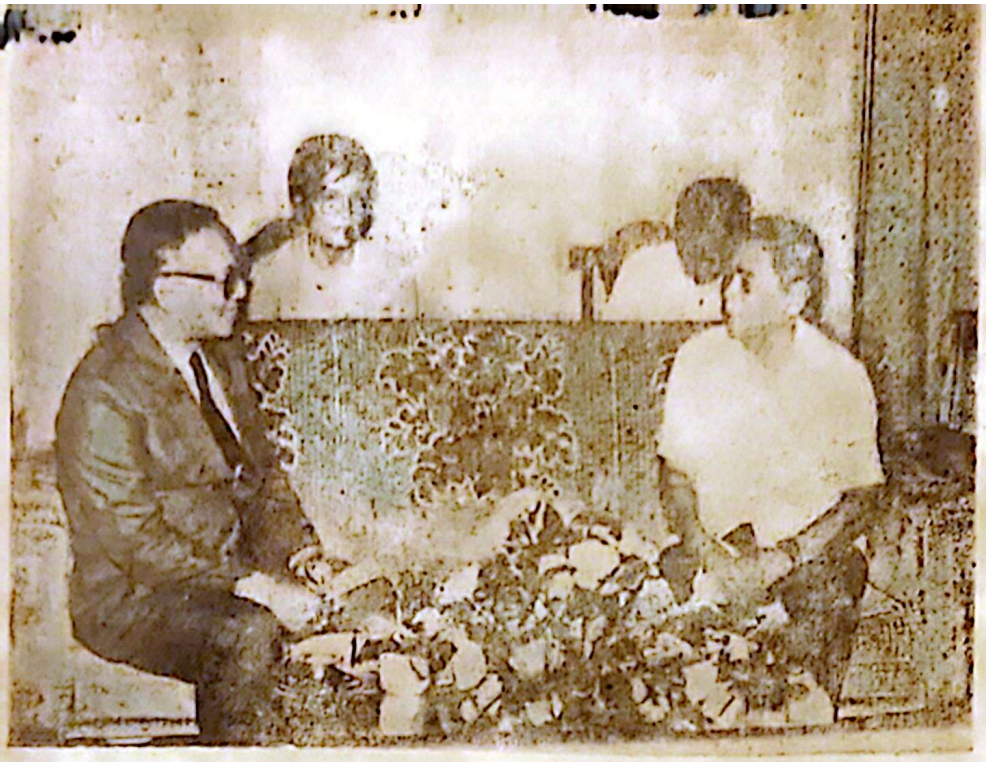
- The October Revolution and the Road to Liberation for All Peoples
- Development of Vietnamese - Soviet Economic Relations
- What Do Vietnamese Think About the Soviet Union?
- Vietnamese Press in Recent Days

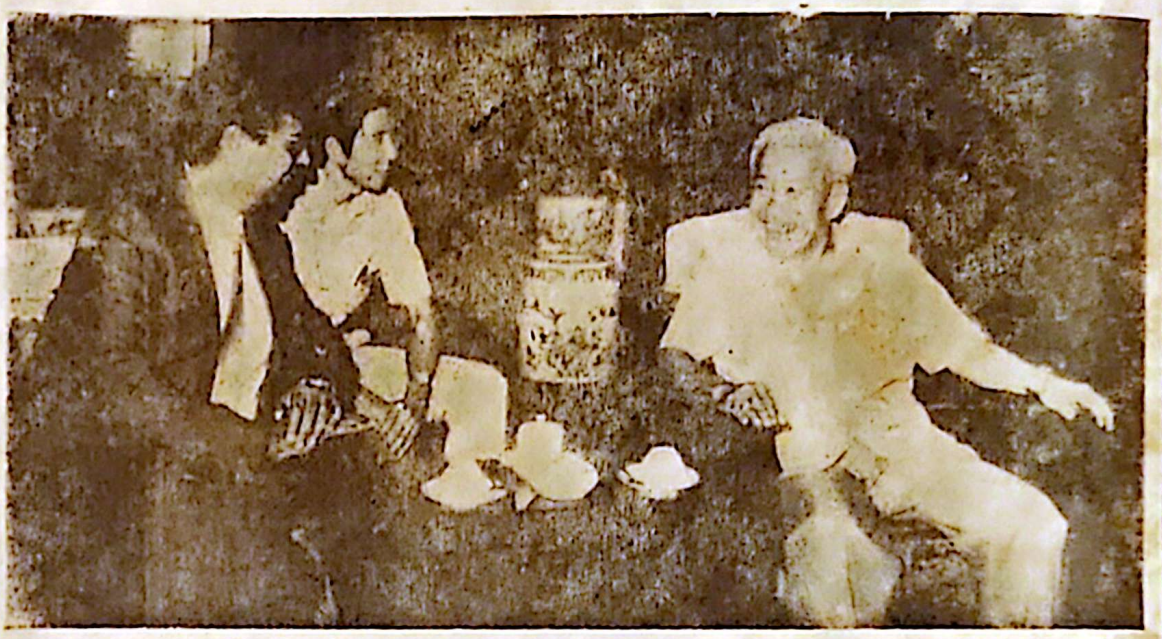


DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITIES

● *Nguyen Van Linh, General Secretary of the CPV, receiving Professor Dr Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, Foreign Minister of the Republic of Indonesia. (29 July 1987)*

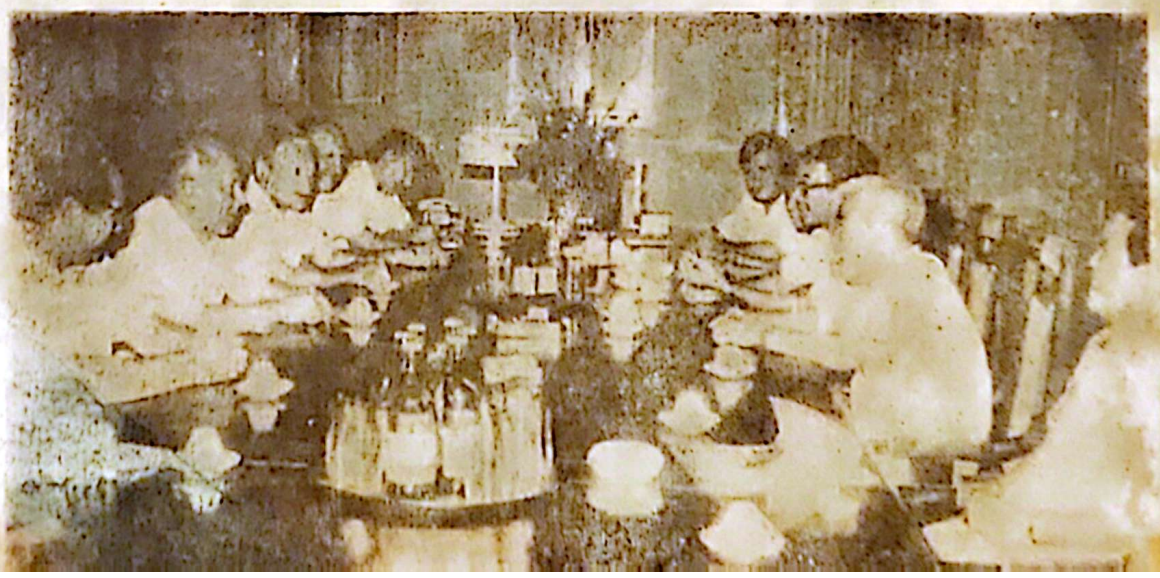
Photo: VAN KHANH

● *Pham Hung, Chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers, receiving the delegation of the Indian Company CIMMCO International. (1 August 1987)*



● *Pham Hung, Chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers, receiving the delegation of the Soviet Ministry of Electronics Industry. (14 August 1987)*

Photos: VU DINH HONG



Editorial

THE GREAT OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND THE DESTINY OF MANKIND

Let's put side by side two maps of the world, one of 1917, the other of 1987. One need not be a political observer to note the tremendous change that has happened in the last 70 years. Capitalism, which used to reign over the world, has shrunk like the piece of shagreen in Balzac's novel. Socialism, which first triumphed in Russia, has spread to many other countries in Europe, Asia, America, and Africa. More than one hundred countries, which used to be colonies or semi-colonies, have won back national independence and are now members of the United Nations. Gone is the time when imperialist powers divided the world among themselves, enslaved the peoples, and, when at odds with each other, started war on a world scale to re-apportion markets and spheres of influence.

The apparently everlasting order established by capitalism was shaken to its foundations by the great proletarian revolution which broke out in Russia in 1917. The curtain rose on the collapse of the Czarist empire which covered one-sixth of the surface of the earth. Less than thirty years later, the three most truculent militarist powers — Germany, Italy and Japan — were knocked down. This was followed by the post-World War Two decolonization process in which France, Holland, Great Britain, Belgium, Spain, Portugal... gradually lost their colonial positions and ceased to be imperialist powers in the full sense of the word. The British empire, on which at one time the sun never set, became a mere junior partner of the USA. For its part, the USA, availing itself of favourable geographical and historical conditions during and after the war, rose to the top of the capitalist world. However, the wars in which it became involved in Korea and Vietnam prove that it can no longer have everything its own way, as an imperialist power would in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Capitalism was plunged into a general crisis at the time of the triumph of the Great October Revolution and the foundation of the first socialist State on earth. The October Revolution ushered in the era of proletarian revolution in capitalist countries and national-liberation revolution in colonial countries, with the slogan: "Proletarians of all countries and oppressed peoples, unite!". The world is divided into two systems opposed to each other economically and socially. By following different revolutionary roads, an increasing number of nations have left the capitalist system and embarked on the socialist path of development.

* * *

The Great October Revolution broke out on the 25th day of the 10th month of the Russian calendar, i.e. the 7th of November, 1917. Under the direct guidance of V.I. Lenin, within a matter of hours, the insurgent forces became the master of Petrograd, the capital of imperialist Russia. That very evening, the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers and Soldiers was convened, and the following evening it decided to set up a worker-peasant government headed by Lenin. Like a train of gunpowder, the revolution spread to the whole of Russia. Soviet power was set up in successive regions of the country. The revolution triumphed within a very short time and almost without bloodshed: the situation was ripe, the revolutionary masses had been carefully prepared ideologically, politically and organizationally, and resolutely went into action under a close and accurate guidance.

Immediately after its birth, the worker-peasant State set about doing away with the premises of the exploitation of man by man. It gave the peasants their shares of land, nationalized the banks and major enterprises of the capitalists, proclaimed a policy of peace and equality among nations, abolished the unequal treaties and despoiling debts contracted by the Czarist government. The building of a new society began, based on the principles of popular government and social justice. The emancipation of the proletariat is at one with the liberation of the people and, in a broader sense, with that of mankind. There lies the qualitative difference between the October Revolution and all previous revolutions.

Because the October Revolution dealt a direct blow at the private ownership of the means of production, the propertied classes' reaction was immediate and violent.

Capitalist governments called the action taken by the revolution an impudent one, particularly as the revolutionary government made no secret of its objective. However, they did not believe in the pro-

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Front cover: Vietnamese and Soviet Youth meet in Hanoi.
Photo: QUANG MINH

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letariat's ultimate success. The American ambassador in Petrograd, David Francis Rowland, declared on the day the revolutionary masses took power in the Russian capital: "All right, in five days everything will be over." But he was to witness the phenomenal growth of the revolutionary State and the impotence of the counter-revolutionary forces in the country.

Fourteen capitalist countries, including five major powers — Great Britain, France, the USA, Germany and Japan — intervened militarily but all were to fail. The Land of the Soviets weathered the storm, but only to be subjected to a tight encirclement by international capital. Then it was invaded by fascist armies and suffered horrendous damage. At present, in spite of the lessons which could be drawn from the collapse of the Third Reich and their topical character, US-led imperialism is still leaving no stones unturned to hamper the development of the first socialist State and seeks to eliminate it.

Naturally, the reaction from the international proletariat and the toiling masses, from the oppressed nations and progressive people, was completely different. Immediately perceiving the historic mission of the October Revolution, the American journalist John Reed, who witnessed this tremendous event, wrote his famous account *Ten Days That Shook the World*, in which he enthusiastically greeted the writing of a new page in human history. The proletariat and other toiling people in the capitalist countries held resolute demonstrations to stay their governments' attempts to intervene in the affairs of Soviet Russia. Sailors on French warships operating in the Black Sea in 1918 mutinied; among them was the Vietnamese revolutionary Ton Duc Thang (who later became the Vice-President and then President of socialist Vietnam). Many internationalist militants in all continents stood up in defence of the October Revolution and later of the Soviet Union. The battle in defence of the fruits of the October Revolution was waged not only in the developed capitalist countries but also in colonial and semi-colonial countries. One may get an idea of the scope of this struggle from the following lines written by the great Chinese writer Lu Sun in the preface to *Things Seen in the Soviet Union* (1932) by Lin Képo: "Thus one can realize the reason behind the attacks by civilized capitalist countries on the Soviet Union. Here, workers and peasants look like humans, a thing which is not in the interest of the capitalists and the landlords, hence their determination to destroy this image of the worker-peasant masses. (...) If the lackeys of imperialism wish to join in the attacks (on the Soviet Union), let them follow their masters. Their interests and those of our people are wholly opposed to each other. We are against attacking the Soviet Union. And we shall strike to the ground the demons who are attacking it, in spite of all their blandishments and their show of uprightness. There lies our road to survival."

Indeed the road to survival is the same for the Soviet people and for all other peoples of the world. It is not without reason that internationalists in the world regard the Soviet Union as both the child and the rampart of world proletarian revolution, of which the national liberation revolution of colonial and dependent countries is a branch and a prop.

(Continued on page 6)

THE GREAT OCTOBER REVOLUTION OPENED THE ROAD TO LIBERATION TO ALL PEOPLES*

(October 1967)

President HO CHI MINH

Like the shining sun, the October Revolution illuminated the five continents, and awakened millions and millions of oppressed and exploited people. In human history, there had never been a revolution with such great and profound significance.

The October Revolution was the first triumph of Marxism and Leninism in a large country, the Soviet Union, which covers one-sixth of the world. It was the greatest victory ever recorded by the working class, the labouring people and oppressed peoples led by the working class and their vanguard, the Bolshevik Party. The October Revolution made use of revolutionary violence to overthrow the bourgeoisie and the land-owning feudal class, established the power of the working people, and built a completely new society, in which there is no exploitation of man by man.

The October Revolution opened the road to liberation to the peoples and to all mankind and ushered in a new era in history, the era of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale.

On the historic significance of the October Revolution, Lenin said:

"We have the right to be proud, and indeed we are proud of having had the honour to *start* building a Soviet State and thereby *open* a new era in the world's history, the era of domination by a *new* class, oppressed in all capitalist countries and now advancing everywhere toward a new life, toward victory over the bourgeoisie, toward the dictatorship of the proletariat, toward the liberation of mankind from the capitalist yoke and from imperialist wars."[1]

The world situation in the past fifty years has eloquently testified to the truth of this brilliant statement by Lenin. Indeed, since the October Revolution, there have happened tremendous revolutionary changes in the world.

The Soviet Union, the first state to have a dictatorship of the proletariat, has displayed extraordinary strength. Right after its foundation, it not only smashed the counter-revolutionaries at home but also defeated armed intervention by 14 imperialist countries. Less than 30 years later, through its complete defeat of the German, Italian and Japanese fascists, it not only safeguarded the Soviet State but also greatly contributed to the liberation of other countries and to saving mankind from enslavement by fascism.

In spite of the heavy ravages of war and innumerable hardships and sacrifices (20 million dead, 1,710 cities destroyed and over 30,000 enterprises damaged), thanks to the correct leadership of the Party and the extraordinary efforts of the people, within a few years, the Soviet Union succeeded by dint of heroic struggle in healing the war wounds and successfully building socialism and has proceeded to the building of the material and technical basis of communism. The Soviet Union has become a great industrial power with a science and technology that ranks among the most modern in the world and was the first nation to embark on the conquest of outer space.

After the Russian October Revolution, the success of the Chinese Revolution also assumed tremendous international significance. It was another great victory of Marxism-Leninism in a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country with a population of 700 million, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China. Within less than twenty years, China, formerly a backward agricultural country heavily oppressed and exploited by foreign imperialists and internal bureaucratic bourgeoisie and feudal landlords, has risen up, wrested back and strengthened national independence, built socialism and become a great power with modern industry, developed agriculture, advanced science and technology.

The success of the national liberation revolutions and socialist revolutions in Poland, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Albania, Mongolia, Korea, Cuba and Vietnam also have very great historical significance.

Thanks to the above-mentioned successes, a world socialist system has come into being, stretching from Central Europe to Southeast Asia and the first outpost of socialism in Latin America has been set up. The socialist camp has been growing more and more powerful. It is the decisive factor for the

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* *Written for Pravda on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Great October Revolution* (Ed.)

1. *Lenin*: Complete Works, *Vol. 33, French version*, Editions Sociales, *Paris* and Editions en Langues Etrangères, *Moscow, 1961, p. 47.*

development of the world revolution and a brilliant future for mankind.

Inspired and supported by the Russian October Revolution and the socialist countries, the revolutionary movement of the working class in capitalist countries and the national liberation movement in colonial countries are surging up vigorously and are developing on an unprecedented scale. All over Asia, Africa and Latin America, the national liberation movement is rising like a tempest, disintegrating the colonial system of imperialism piecemeal, and allowing hundreds of millions of people to break free from enslavement and advance toward independence and freedom.

The strength of the socialist camp, the struggle of the working class in capitalist countries and the national liberation revolutionary movement — those three great revolutionary forces with a tremendous aggregate strength continuously assault the strongholds of imperialism headed by US imperialism. The general situation in the world today is marked by the fact that the revolutionary and peace-loving forces have grown stronger than the imperialist, reactionary and warmongering forces. Generally speaking, the world revolution is on the offensive; it is growing more powerful and winning more victories. On the contrary, imperialism and other reactionary forces are on the defensive; they are weakening and suffering setbacks and are doomed to destruction.

Socialism and communism, which was only a lofty dream of humanity in the past, has since the October Revolution become a social reality, which has displayed tremendous power and involved thousands of millions of people in revolutionary action, for the sake of peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

• • •

The great triumph of the October Revolution has taught the working class, the toiling people and oppressed peoples throughout the world many invaluable lessons, which are a guarantee for the complete emancipation of the working class and the whole of mankind. The Vietnamese working class and people are more and more deeply imbued with the teachings of Lenin and the great lessons of the October Revolution:

— It is essential to have the leadership of a *genuine revolutionary party of the working class, wholeheartedly devoted to the service of the people.* Only the leadership of a party which knows how to apply Marxism-Leninism creatively to the specific conditions of its country can take the national liberation revolution to victory and the socialist revolution to success.

— *The worker-peasant alliance* must be realized, for it is the surest guarantee for the successes of the revolution. Only the worker-peasant alliance led by the working class can resolutely and thoroughly overthrow the counter-revolutionary forces, seize and consolidate power for the toiling people, fulfil the historical mission of the national democratic revolution and advance to socialism.

— Under the leadership of the working class and on the basis of an increasingly firmer worker-peasant alliance in each revolutionary stage, a *broad front* should rally all revolutionary and progressive forces for united action in various forms against the common enemy.

— In the arduous struggle against the enemy of the class and the nation, *revolutionary violence should be used to oppose counter-revolutionary violence, seize power and defend it.*

According to concrete conditions, one should adopt appropriate forms of revolutionary struggle and skilfully use and judiciously combine various forms of armed struggle and political struggle so as to achieve victory for the revolution.

— *Proletarian dictatorship should be constantly strengthened and consolidated.* After seizing power, the working class has the primary task of strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to fulfil the historical tasks of the revolution, thoroughly abolish the system of exploitation of man by man, build socialist relations of production, build socialism and advance toward communism.

— In the life-and-death struggle between the working class, the toiling people and oppressed peoples on one side and the imperialists and their henchmen, the feudal landlords and reactionary bourgeois on the other, the people must display a radically revolutionary spirit, and constantly hold high the banner of revolutionary heroism. They should be fearless of hardships and sacrifices and determined to fight to the bitter end for national independence and socialism.

— *There should be close association of patriotism and proletarian internationalism* in both the national liberation revolution and the socialist revolution. In our time, the national liberation revolution is an inseparable part of the world proletarian revolution; the national liberation revolution must develop into the socialist revolution if it is to achieve complete victory. The success of the struggle for independence and freedom of the peoples is inseparable from the active support and assistance of the socialist camp and the workers' movement in the capitalist countries.

"Workers of all lands and oppressed peoples, unite!" This sacred appeal by Lenin is still echoing in our ears, reminding us constantly to safeguard and strengthen the great solidarity among the revolutionary forces in the common interest of the working class and of mankind.

The above is a summary of the practical experiences of the Vietnamese revolution.

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We Vietnamese have a saying. "When you drink, think of the source". The more they recall the

Young Pioneers of the No. 5 School in Riga greeting President Ho Chi Minh on his visit to the city.

days of humiliation under foreign rule and the revolutionary struggles marked by sacrifices and hardships and also by glorious victories, the more the working class and people of Vietnam are grateful to Lenin and the October Revolution.

Before the October Revolution, the Vietnamese people, kept in the dark by the colonialists, knew nothing about Marxism and had never heard of Lenin. With the success of the earth-shaking Great October Revolution, Marxism-Leninism was gradually propagated in Vietnam. In early 1930, the Indochinese Communist Party (now the Vietnam Workers' Party) was founded, holding high the banner of revolutionary leadership. A seething national liberation movement surged up, culminating in the Nghe-Tinh Soviets (1930-1931). Since then, the Vietnamese working class have found the road to self-liberation. In spite of bloody terror by the colonialists, the Vietnamese people resolutely marched forward. In August 1945, a favourable opportunity presented itself when the heroic Soviet Army defeated the German and Japanese fascists. The Indochinese Communist Party led the entire people in an uprising, seized power in the whole country, overthrew the Japanese fascists and their henchmen, and founded the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The Vietnamese August Revolution was the first successful national and people's democratic revolution in Southeast Asia.

The Vietnam Workers' Party, when defining its political line, constantly tries to combine the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the realities of the Vietnamese revolution, while modestly learning from the valuable experiences of the fraternal parties. Our Party always sets great store by the education of cadres, Party members and the people at large so as to enhance their radically revolutionary spirit, their heroism and readiness to face sacrifices in the interest of the class and the nation. Our Party always maintains close ties with the masses. For this reason, it enjoys the people's confidence, love and support, and its line and policies are eagerly carried out by the people. Our Party has succeeded in building up a national united front against imperialism on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance. This front includes democratic parties, mass organizations, religious bodies, and various nationalities, who work together under the leadership of the Vietnam Workers' Party to carry out the Front's common programme, build a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic and prosperous Vietnam.

Our Party knows how to make use of various forms of revolutionary struggle according to the concrete situations facing the movement, especially *the combination of armed struggle with political struggle, in a long, arduous and heroic people's war to defeat the aggressors.*

Our Party constantly educates cadres, Party members and the

masses in *genuine patriotism and proletarian internationalism* and ceaselessly strengthens solidarity and friendship with the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the other brotherly countries. Our Party advocates relying mainly on our own forces, while at the same time winning active support and assistance from the brother socialist countries and peace- and justice-loving people in the world, including progressive people in the United States.

On the strength of their own experience, the Vietnamese people are firmly confident that in the present conditions, which are favourable to the revolutionary movement, any nation, even a small one, which is closely united and resolutely fighting according to a correct political and military line, and is furthermore enjoying active support and assistance from the socialist camp and revolutionary peoples in the world, such a nation will certainly be able to defeat any imperialist aggressor, including the ring-leader, US imperialism.

* * *

Following the path charted by the great Lenin, the path of the October Revolution, the Vietnamese people have won very great victories. That is why their attachment and gratitude to the Soviet people are most profound.

The Vietnamese people always bear in mind that their victories are inseparable from the considerable assistance of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the other brother socialist countries, inseparable from the active support of progressive people all over the world.

On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the glorious October Revolution, on behalf of the Vietnamese people, I wish to express my profound gratitude to the Party of Lenin and to the brotherly Soviet people, who have wholeheartedly assisted our people in their resistance to US aggression, for national salvation.

Sharing the common jubilation of the working class, toiling people and oppressed peoples in the world on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, the Vietnamese people wish the brotherly Soviet people still more brilliant achievements in the building of the material and technical basis of communism and hope that they will play an increasingly more considerable role in the struggle of the world's people against imperialism, for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Long live Marxism-Leninism!

Long live the brotherly solidarity between the Vietnamese people and the Soviet people!

Long live the brotherly solidarity in the great family of socialist countries and the international communist movement! ●

THE GREAT...

(Continued from page 2)

By expropriating the expropriators in order to build a society of which the motto is "From each according to his ability, to each according to his labour", the October Revolution has realized the ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity, which bourgeois revolutions had upheld but had only partly implemented before the bourgeoisie, having completed its historical mission, set about betraying its own ideals. The October Revolution created the premises for culture to penetrate into the people's life and for humanism to serve as a basis for social relationships. It opens up prospects for an advance to a universal world enjoying everlasting peace, the dream of philosophers since ancient times in both East and West.

Seventy years have elapsed since the Bolshevik insurrection in Petrograd. From a middle-ranking capitalist State and a second-rate imperialist power playing second fiddle to Great Britain, France, Germany, Japan and the USA, Czarist Russia has become the great Soviet Union, one of the most powerful countries on earth, the staunch support and the pride of oppressed mankind. While the former Czarist empire was the infamous prison of Russian and dependent nationalities, the Soviet Union is at present a harmonious family of more than one hundred fraternal peoples, a society which may not yet be the most materially prosperous community but is certainly the most humanly developed. On the impetus of the successes achieved within a relatively short time and in difficult historical conditions never before faced by any other nation, the Soviet Union is striving to surpass itself, to overcome its shortcomings and carry out a structural reform which will take socialism to a qualitatively higher level. At the same time it is doing its utmost to safeguard peace and help bring into being a nuclear-free world before the end of this stormy 20th century.

Structural reform and defence of peace, such are the two major goals, certainly difficult ones, set to the Soviet people by the 27th Congress of the CPSU. Greeting the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, the Vietnamese people express their profound gratitude to the homeland of Lenin for having opened the way to genuine liberty, equality and fraternity for all nations. They wish the Land of the Soviets success: new Soviet successes in the new international conditions, will once again benefit the whole of mankind.

VIETNAM COURIER

THE ROAD TO SOCIALISM, THE VICTORIOUS ROAD OF VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION

HA XUAN TRUONG
Member of CPV Central Committee
Editor-in-Chief of Tap Chi Cong San
(Review of Communism)

When the Russian October Socialist Revolution broke out 70 years ago the Vietnamese people were living in the dark shadows of colonialism and feudalism. Independence and human rights were only distant hopes. Patriotic scholars in those days saw no other road to national salvation than nationalism or petty-bourgeois reformism. Nguyen Ai Quoc, who was later to become President Ho Chi Minh, wanted to escape from that impasse. He looked for another road to national liberation. He travelled to Europe before the First World War and spent many years in the French capital. He got acquainted with French working people and progressive intellectuals.

The victorious Socialist October Revolution shook the world. Nguyen Ai Quoc turned his eyes to Soviet Russia bathed in the aura of the proletarian revolution. He was particularly impressed by an outstanding figure in the European and world political scene: Lenin. In 1920 he read Lenin's *First Draft of Theses on the National and Colonial Questions* published in the French paper *L'Humanité* which brought tears of joy to his eyes. He reminisced: "How it moved, inspired and enlightened me! How it boosted my confidence! I was moved to tears. Sitting alone in my room I cried as if I were addressing a mass rally: 'Fellow countrymen who are suffering, this is what we need, this is our road to emancipation!'" He also said: "The great inspration of the October Revolution and of Leninism came to me like water and food to a thirsty and hungry traveller". By choosing a way for himself Nguyen Ai Quoc was indeed choosing the way forward for Vietnam and the Vietnamese people, a predestined road. It is no accident that today more and more nations are looking to socialism after shaking off foreign domination.

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The evolution of their nation and of the world led the Vietnamese onto this inevitable road of history. They say to themselves "Just as all rivers flow to the sea, all nations must follow the socialist road if they want real independence and happiness". How can it be otherwise? Now as in the past, the Soviet Union represents for them the present and future of socialism. In every commune and city ward of Vietnam, workers, farmers and intellectuals will evoke the example of the Soviet Union when discussing economic, political, cultural and social questions. For the people of Vietnam, it is not enough to say that the Soviet Union is a source of support and moral strength. It is also an object of love.

The first Vietnamese Communist paper to commemorate the October Revolution in a special issue was the journal *Tranh Dau* (Struggle) of November Ist, 1930. In order to avoid colonial police repression the Vietnam Communist Party adopted the tactics of distributing handbills to commemorate the October Revolution each year. During one such campaign

Colonel Pham Tuan and the delegation of the Komsomol (Soviet Communist Youth Union) visiting the Red Star division of the Vietnam Air Force.

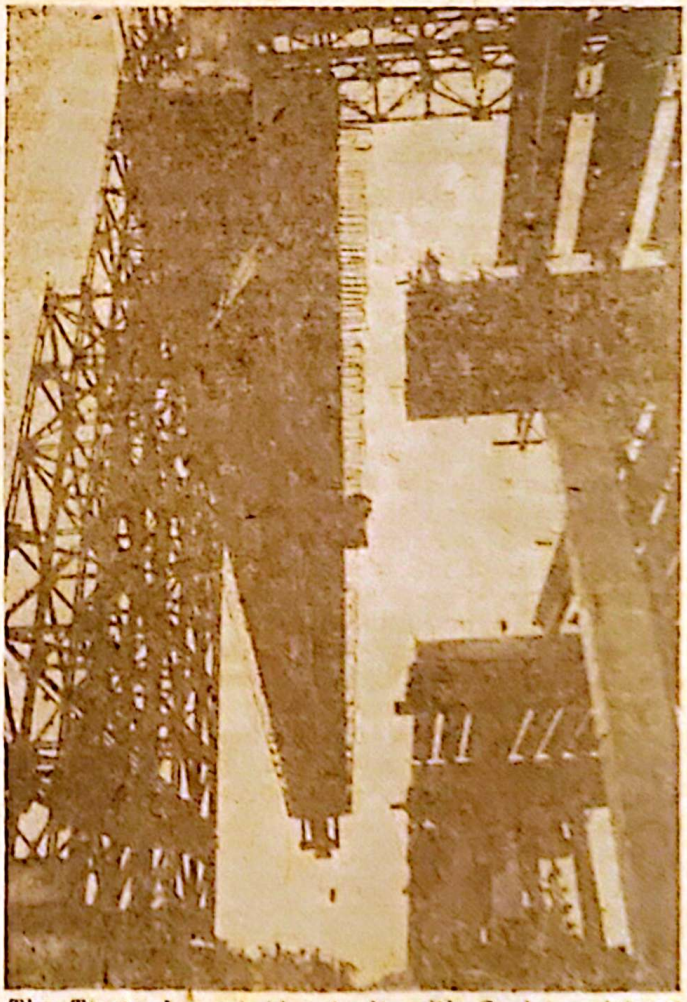
Photo: KIM HUNG

a 14-year-old student named Cuc, who has now become Party General Secretary Nguyen Van Linh, was arrested and deported to the island prison of *Con Dao* (Poulo Condor). In French colonial prisons, political prisoners observed the anniversaries of the October Revolution and of Lenin by staging hunger strikes and protests against illtreatment by the warders. They sang aloud the *Internationale* in their cells. The first uprising under the leadership of the Party took place in Nghe An and Ha Tinh provinces (now merged into Nghe Tinh, the home province of President Ho Chi Minh) in 1930-31, and the subsequent worker-peasant administration founded there was called Nghe Tinh Soviets.

"When you quench your thirst, don't forget where the water comes from," so runs a Vietnamese proverb. Lenin blazed the trail for the October Revolution. The favourable moment for the Vietnamese revolution came from the crushing defeat suffered by the German fascists in Europe and the Japanese militarists in Asia at the hands of the Soviet Army. One of the determinant factors for Vietnam's victories in its two wars of resistance was the steady and wholehearted assistance of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community, the support of the fraternal parties and the whole of progressive mankind. This assistance and support has also been extended to Vietnam in the building of socialism. Hundreds of major projects built with Soviet aid have brought radical changes to the economy of Vietnam. In many construction sites across the country, from North to South, in sultry tropical weather, Soviet engineers and experts are working side by side with Vietnamese workers and technicians. It would be impossible to cite all the examples of courage and devotion set by them. Some shed their blood on Vietnamese soil during our war of resistance to US aggression. Today, all are working hard to further Vietnamese — Soviet Friendship. Vietnamese culture, while drawing from the age-old heritage of the nation, has also been enriched by the great influence of Soviet literature and arts. Works by Gorki and Serafimovich were known to Vietnamese readers as early as the 30's besides those of Romain Rolland and Henri Barbusse. Soviet literature and arts have played an important role in the formation of socialist realist literature and arts in Vietnam. Today, one notes the integration of many elements of Soviet culture into the cultural life of the Vietnamese people.

These days in Vietnam many activities are taking place to mark the 70th anniversary of the Russian October Socialist Revolution. Besides cultural and political manifestations of friendship with the Soviet people, the celebrations also include practical activities aimed at upholding the resolution of the 6th Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam, strengthening allround cooperation between the two countries, and creating a real turning point in the renovation of our economic and social life. The need for renovation has become more urgent than ever. Indeed renovation is a matter of life or death for the Vietnamese Party and people. The 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the statements of Mikhail Gorbachev have marked great moments in the life of the people in the Soviet Union. Every day, hundreds of millions of Soviet citizens are now working vigorously to accelerate the renovation and reorganisation process in their country. This action also constitutes a major source of strength and encouragement for the Vietnamese people in socialist building and national defence.

Whatever predictions Sovietologists and futurologists in the West may indulge in concerning what will have happened on the vast Land of the Soviets when mankind enters the 21st century, the Vietnamese communists and people are confident that the determination of the Communist Party and people of the Soviet Union will bring about profound changes and make the Soviet Union ever more worthy of being the cradle of the Great October Revolution and the bastion of world peace and revolution. Marxism-Leninism will have reached new heights and entered a new stage of development.

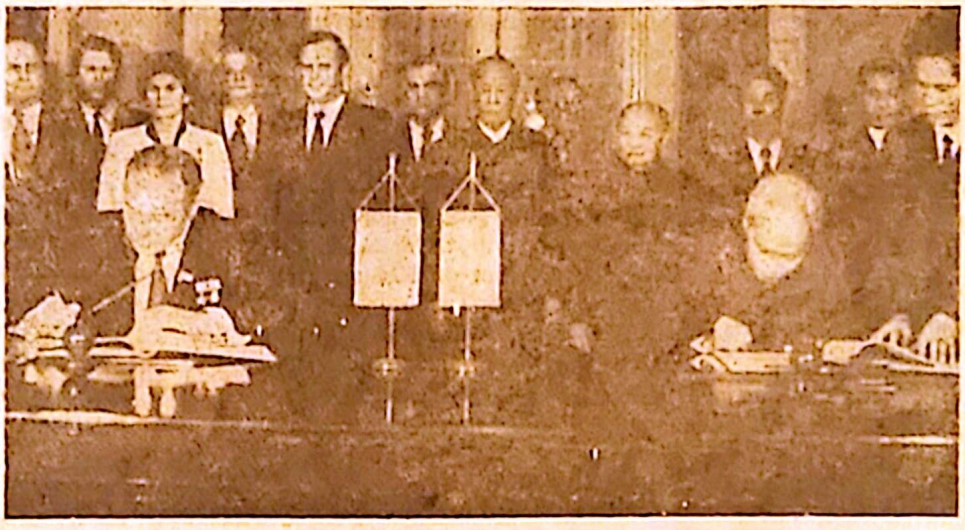


The Thang Long bridge built with Soviet assistance spanning the Red River in Hanoi.

Photo: VU HANH

A NEW DEVELOPMENT IN VIETNAM—SOVIET ECONOMIC RELATIONS

NGUYEN VAN QUY



Signing in Hanoi in 1983 of the long-term programme on economic, technological and scientific cooperation between Vietnam and the Soviet Union.

Photo: NGOC ANH

Vietnam-Soviet economic relations were first established in 1955 when President Ho Chi Minh paid a visit to the Soviet Union and signed an agreement on Soviet assistance to Vietnam for its economic recovery. Since then these relations have grown steadily. In the period between 1955 and 1975, the Soviet Union helped Vietnam restore or build anew nearly 200 projects including the first major ones for socialist construction in our country.

Following the victory in 1975 of our people's war of resistance to the US aggressors, from 1976 to 1980 the Soviet Union granted us nearly as much non-refundable aid and credit as in the previous twenty years. Qualitative strengthening of relations between Vietnam and the Soviet Union in general, and of their economic relations in particular, was marked by the signing in November 1978 of the Vietnam-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation. In the five years from 1981 to 1985 Soviet grants and loans to Vietnam were nearly double those granted in the previous five years.

In the past ten years, given the extremely wicked economic blockade of Vietnam by the US and other hostile powers, Soviet assistance was of extremely important significance to us. The Soviet Union has supplied 70 to 100 per cent of our needs concerning the most important strategic materials, thus decisively helping us maintain production and normal living conditions. Complete sets of Soviet equipment in the electricity, coal, oil and gas, cement and engineering industries, in communications and transport, etc., have propped up the weakest links of our economy and strengthened our initial material-technical infrastructure.

Looking back over the past 32 years of Vietnam-Soviet economic cooperation we can see the following dominant characteristics. *Firstly*, because of our low starting point, the Soviet Union has helped us build the foundations for our economy — works characterized by large investments, time-consuming

construction, and slow returns. *Secondly*, besides economic loans the Soviet Union has given us non-refundable aid, either periodically or on specific occasions. The cancellation of all debts, principal and interest, was announced by the Soviet Union in July 1973. *Thirdly*, Vietnam has always had an unfavourable balance of trade with the Soviet Union. In certain years exports were less than one third of imports. Hence the constant granting of Soviet credit to help cover the excess of imports over exports. For our part, we have often failed to honour our trade commitments. Besides, the quality of the goods sent to the Soviet Union is often deficient.

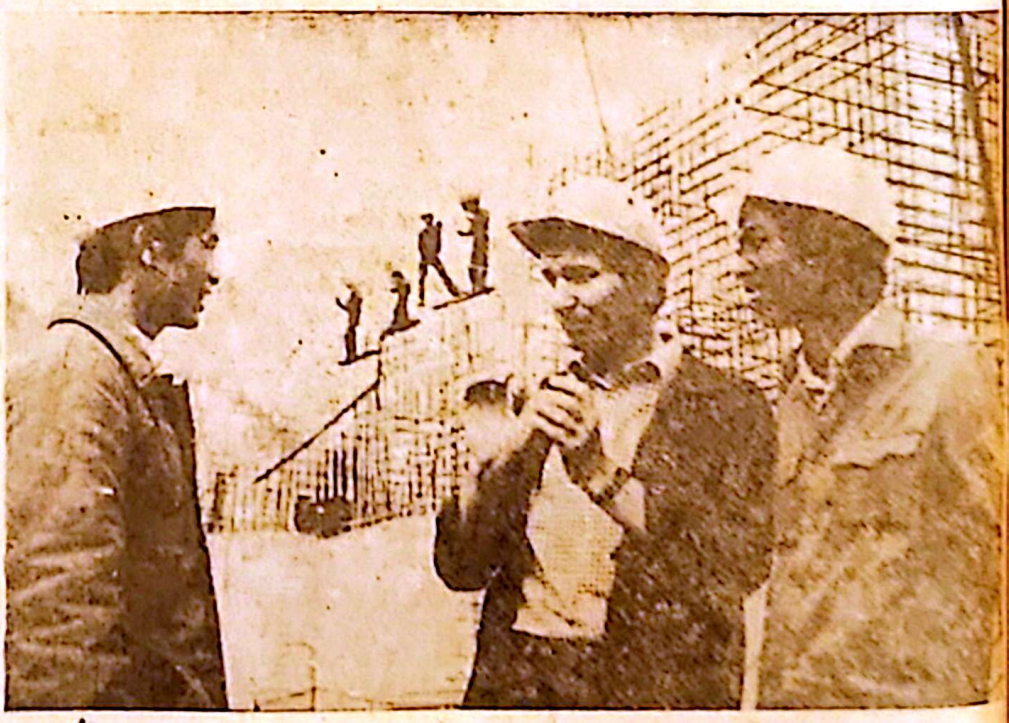
The above-mentioned facts show that Soviet-Vietnamese relations of cooperation are lop-sided and based on subsidies. This type of cooperation is not suited to the present situation.

Firstly, all the socialist countries in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) unanimously hold that in the present period of historical development, the socialist countries must improve the mode of cooperation among themselves and strengthen socialist economic association in order to turn to full account the strength of the whole socialist community in its economic competition with capitalism. The mode of cooperation so far applied, based on the supply of raw materials and fuels by the Soviet Union and the exchange and trade of products, is no longer suitable. It does not encourage the application of scientific-technological advances with a view to raising the quality of products. The trend in the modern world is to strengthen international division of labour, specialisation and cooperation in production. In West European capitalist countries, owing to cooperation in production, the machine-building industry alone provides 40 per cent of foreign trade turnover in this field. Specialisation and cooperation in production work as a lever to promote scientific and technological advances and product quality. Members of the socialist community have only taken the initial steps in this direction. CMEA member countries also hold that the renovation of the mode of cooperation must go hand in hand with the renovation of the forms of cooperation, and that bureaucratic and purely formal cooperation activities must be changed. This means the development of direct relations among enterprises. This is an important form of cooperation, a lever that will strengthen economic links among the socialist countries. Another important form is to set up international unions of enterprises and joint ventures.

Among the socialist countries, pecialisation and cooperation means the implementation of socialist international division of labour. This division of labour must develop the potentialities and strengths of each country, thus enabling it to develop in the most effective way and ensuring the operation of economic laws, first of all, the basic economic law of socialism.

This division of labour also requires equal exchanges in terms of labour, quantitatively and qualitatively. Its aim is to bring about the same level of development in the socialist countries, each being able to develop on the basis of a balanced economy, and to create conditions for their broader participation in the general international division of labour. In the capitalist world, relations between the developed and the developing countries consist of unequal exchanges, which cripple the latter countries and bring about unequal international cooperation, characterised by their exploitation at the hands of the former. Socialism practises equal exchanges in terms of labour. No party can receive goods representing more labour than it gives.

Of course socialism practises mutual, fraternal assistance. Lenin holds that one of the conditions for the success of revolution in a country is the assistance rendered it by



Soviet experts and Vietnamese workers at the construction site of the Hydro Power Project on the Da river.

Photo: CAO PHONG

those countries where revolution has already been successful. The dialectics of nature teaches that everything has its objective limits. One-way assistance should be practised mainly in the initial period and must be followed by a gradual transition to cooperation relations as the recipient country develops. The interests of world socialism requires that recipient countries quickly strive to stand on their own feet so that they can in turn help more backward countries. Several socialist countries in Eastern Europe have reached this stage and are now collectively helping Vietnam, Mongolia and Cuba in accordance with a decision of CMEA.

The Soviet Union has been helping Vietnam in a true spirit of proletarian internationalism and Marxism-Leninism in its capacity as the first socialist country in the world and the most powerful country in the Socialist Community. It has also been giving great help to many other nations in the world, from Europe to Asia, from Africa to Latin America. With regard to the developing countries in general, the Soviet Union has helped 70 countries build 3240 projects, of which 1948 have been commissioned. Soviet assistance is characterised by the fact that it aims at helping these countries build key economic branches. Hence in many cases cooperation with the Soviet Union plays the decisive role in the setting up of modern economic branches in newly independent countries. The Soviet Union has scrupulously implemented the United Nations' resolution to the effect that the industrially developed countries should spend 0.7% of their GNP on helping the underdeveloped countries. As a matter of fact, the Soviet Union's effort has been higher in this field than that of the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan and France.

Obviously the Soviet people's living standards would have been much higher if the Soviet Union had concentrated her economic potentials on raising them. The Soviet people's legitimate desire is to have better living conditions. It is in response to this desire that the Soviet Party and State have made Soviet social policy a strategic task. This is in the interests not only of the Soviet Union but also of world socialism. Progressive mankind wants the Soviet Union to grow ever mightier and Soviet living standards to grow ever higher. This is the hope of all those who want a better world.

The Vietnamese people also desire their living conditions to be improved but they cannot allow themselves to ask of the Soviet Union assistance that goes beyond the principles governing economic cooperation relations. Over the past ten years, facts show that we have not yet fully exploited our resources in land, labour and other fields. True, we lack capital and technical know-how. The Soviet Union has been and is prepared to put capital and technology at our disposal to help us develop our strengths. So what do we lack? In the last analysis we lack the will to cooperate effectively. We have not yet overcome our over-reliance on our friends' help.

Only on the basis of ensuring both sides' interests can we maintain and develop cooperation. The point is to find flexible forms of cooperation suited to each country's potentialities and level of development. Vietnam is one of the three least developed countries in CMEA. That is why CMEA has decided that help to them shall come from the whole community not from the Soviet Union alone. Moreover, this assistance must ensure mutual benefit. The Soviet Union has been none the less the greatest provider of help to all three countries. Cuba's and Mongolia's cooperation with the Soviet Union has been based on the principle of mutual benefit, each party fulfilling its commitments. It is owing to this cooperation on the basis of equality and mutual benefit with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries that Cuba and Mongolia have now begun completing the material and technical basis of socialism, and are becoming industrial — agricultural countries. As for us, we are still in the initial stage of the transition period, in which conditions must be created for industrialisation, which will be stepped up only in the next stage. Our starting point is much lower than even Cuba's and Mongolia's. Our per capita national income is only one-tenth that of the East European socialist countries while Cuba's is approximately 65% and Mongolia's 50% that of the latter.

What is the secret behind these two countries' fairly rapid growth? The explanation lies in several factors, including their respective starting points, but an important element has been the active cooperation of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries due to the suitable forms that have been found for this cooperation. These two fraternal countries like many others are meeting with numerous difficulties in their economic development. But their cooperation relations with the Soviet Union are effective ones in which the strengths of Cuba (sugar and some other fields) and Mongolia (animal husbandry and minerals) are fully promoted. At present in Mongolia an international geological surveying is at work which has the legal status of a foreign enterprise.

Renovation is a pressing necessity in Vietnam — Soviet relations. These relations must be based on equality, mutual benefit and mutual responsibility. This is the only way to build confidence, enlarge cooperation, and raise production performance. Then we may participate in the international division of labour on an equal footing, gradually narrow the gap between our country and the developed countries, and catch up with the general level of the socialist community and of the world.

On the basis of renovation, the Soviet Union has agreed to focus

Crossing the VX 1-7 rice strain with Vietnamese strains.

Photo: NGOC ANH

its cooperation with Vietnam on the three major economic programmes put forward by the Sixth Congress of the CPV and to cooperate with us on a large scale in such fields as agriculture, consumer goods, engineering and electronic products, fertilizers and chemicals, mining and labour cooperation. The following principles have been agreed on:

The Soviet Union will make the necessary investments for turning out finished products and meet the needs of those working under the plans of cooperation.

The Soviet Union will help Vietnam in the fields of science and technology and of organisation and management of production in order to ensure good product quality and effective cooperation.

Vietnam will fulfil its commitments concerning the delivery of products.

Flexible forms of cooperation will be applied at three levels: state, branch and enterprise, including direct relations between enterprises and the establishment of international union of enterprises and joint-ventures.

For their part, the Party and the people of Vietnam will uphold the spirit of self reliance and engage in mutually beneficial cooperation with our Soviet friends on an equal footing. We must resolutely correct our previous mistakes, radically improve our use of the equipment and materials supplied by our friends, promptly upgrade our cooperation machinery, which was cumbersome, ineffective, and only suited for cooperation based on subsidies.

Because of its slow rate of development, Vietnam still needs Soviet help in order to meet some pressing needs in production and consumption and to develop its infrastructure. But of great significance is the fact that the two sides have confirmed the shift of emphasis from assistance and trade to mutually beneficial cooperation. This is a turning point in the economic relations between the two countries.

Economic relations reflect political relations, which in turn direct economic relations. There can be no close economic cooperation without identity of political views. The visit to the Soviet Union in May 1987 by CPV General Secretary Nguyen Van Linh and the talks he held with Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU, were marked by total political agreement between the two sides. This, once again, shows that the strengthening of solidarity and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union is the cornerstone of our foreign policy.

Seven decades of socialism and many years of Vietnam - Soviet relations have demonstrated that we must cooperate with the Soviet Union if we are to develop our economy. The Soviet people wish to see a strong Vietnam, just as the Vietnamese people wish to see a mighty Soviet Union. This is the requirement of the cause represented by the October Revolution. We have now reached identity of views though perhaps rather belatedly. We have wasted many years. Therefore the pressing task of our Party and people is to try our best to fulfil our commitments in cooperation with the Soviet Union. ●

PERESTROIKA AND THE RENEWAL OF SOCIALISM

VU CAN

For nations as for men there are moments of truth. Like the toreador in the arena, one watches the adversary and assesses one's strength before taking him on.

For the Soviet nation, the 27th Congress of the CPSU was a moment of truth. The twofold task facing it was on the one hand to speed up the country's socio-economic development in conformity with the requirements of the era of space travel, and on the other to eliminate the danger of a thermonuclear confrontation pending the advance to a world without war and without weapons. This time the adversary is the failings of the Soviet society itself, the legacy of a most eventful past, of course bathed in glory but by no means without flaws. The time has come, seven decades after the Revolution, to put things in order on the basis of the revolutionary principles themselves, which have not been correctly interpreted or scrupulously observed at all times and in all places. Perhaps things that were necessary are no longer so, while other necessities have followed in the wake of profound changes in national and international life. The point is to raise socialism, which was established in the hardest of circumstances, to a qualitatively superior level in order to make the most of its potentials. This will prove beneficial not only to the first Socialist State on our planet, but also to the whole of the socialist community.

Perestroika and Glasnost

Thirty years after the launch of the first-ever artificial earth satellite, which made *sputnik* an international word, *perestroika* has become part of the language of Sovietologists and publicists. It means "reconstruction" on the basis of radical transformation of the original construction, hence its various translations as "remoulding", "structural reform", "restructuring", etc. On more than one occasion Lenin spoke of *perestroika* after the October Revolution, and indeed the term seems to date back to the days of Peter the Great who had undertaken the modernization of Czarist Russia.

"Moscow has become in fact our national laboratory for *perestroika*," Mikhail Poltoranin, editor of *Moskovskaia Pravda*, told me. "The movement has spread to the whole country, a mass movement with an irresistible impetus."

As a matter of fact, *perestroika* is at present at the centre of the preoccupations of the Soviet Party, State and people. At all levels, careful analysis is being made of the situation and criticism levelled at the errors committed. Bureaucratism, careerism, laxness, parasitism... which have been on the rampage, are denounced. In 1956 already, the 20th Congress of the CPSU had opened the way to large-scale reform but conservative tendencies had quickly regained control. Three decades have had to go by before the 27th Congress again launched a struggle against "the old and the outdated". The situation was ripe, the more so since the last three Five-Year Plans had seen State plans unfulfilled and signs of a crisis of the regime had appeared in more than one field.

"*Perestroika*", said Mikhail Poltoranin, calls for a serious review of the past, which will spotlight what one must preserve and what one must correct, even reject. That's why one of the eleven laws passed by the Supreme Soviet with a view to *perestroika* related to press activities and to *glasnost*.

Glasnost — one more word that is constantly on the lips of Soviet citizens, a word closely associated with *perestroika*, of which it is the twin. The French translate it by "transparence", the British by "openness". The English translation is more direct, hence seems more felicitous, although less evocative. The law requires that affairs of the Party, the State and society be resolved with the knowledge of everyone, and has adopted measures to give full effectiveness to freedoms of opinion, of speech, and of the press. Criticism and self-criticism, which have long been neglected, or more exactly practised only for form's sake, have been institutionalized, like the people's control over the authorities at various levels. Things are called by their names, rhetoric stunts are castigated, and social life is rid of shady areas where depravations and perversions may thrive.

"Everything must be clear, so that the people cannot be deceived. True, Soviet society has achieved a great deal of progress. But here everything is not going on like clockwork. Because they lacked the necessary information, many people, before *perestroika*, naively thought that our country was in the lead in all fields, while in fact in the capital itself many of our factories are using equipment that is outdated and has long been discarded in advanced countries. So much so that a film director has used one of them as location for shooting part of a story about the young Karl Marx. For two decades and more our country has stagnated while tremendous possibilities for national development have been made available by the new scientific and technological revolution. We possess immense resources. We export oil and other raw materials in huge quantities in order to import machines that are very expensive

and make us in some cases dependent on capitalist countries. Our resources are thus wasted, including our human resources, and our economy is not sufficiently developed. Naturally, Soviet prestige in the world suffers. In fields other than the economy, much remains also to be done, socialist democracy in the first place. Soviet people openly poke fun at that 'sanctimonious democracy' which consisted, at Party and State elections, in 'bringing Adam to Eva' and telling her 'Make your choice, dear' in a paternal tone which betrays complete insensitiveness to ridicule. In particular, people criticize a new privileged stratum who are making use of the people while pretending to serve them, a stratum well represented in the bureaucracy.

"Fortunately, bureaucrats and profiteers in the apparatus, in spite of their large numbers, do not constitute the majority. In any event, bureaucratism is at the root of stagnation, generating inefficiency and irresponsibility, while privilege and yearning for ill-gotten gains beget hypocrisy and parasitism. Many moral problems have emerged. A crisis of faith has appeared among the young generation, most often in the form of increasing indifference in the face of what is happening in society. A sizable number of young people of both sexes have given themselves over to alcoholism; drug abuse, introduced from the West, has begun to cause harm; juvenile delinquency is on the increase. Bands of hooligans — called *rockery* — attack the police at night, here in Moscow...

"Everywhere and on all occasions, the youth have reacted spontaneously. They are shocked by the gap between the proclaimed ideal and what is in fact happening. They are angered not only by the shortcomings but also by the attempts on the part of the privileged stratum to deform socialism".

In any event, such is the other side of the coin. Have the Soviet people gone to sleep on their laurels? Or have they allowed their vigilance to slacken in the face of survivals of past times and machinations of enemies from the outside world, which would cause damage when given the opportunity? Or have they under-estimated the danger of alienation contained in socialism itself in its initial phase and in the present context?

No doubt, there is a little of all these factors.

The Remedy and the Reactions

The 12th Five-Year Plan (1986 — 1990) adopted by the 27th Congress of the CPSU lays emphasis on the human factor, to which, in a humanistic spirit, the highest value is ascribed. This is the first achievement under the sign of *perestroika*.

There was a time when a fairly high-sounding watchword was put forward: "Man, the most precious capital". It did not fail to generate enthusiasm. Man is valued higher than either money or machinery. However, if the reasoning is carried to its logical end it appears that this is only pseudo-humanism. Indeed, to whom and for what is man to serve as capital in the present case? To the Revolution, for the Revolution, with a capital R? But the proletarian revolution, which is to put an end to exploitation of man by man, can only be the work of men. Man is not its capital, i.e. some kind of means, but its author and its goal.

Perestroika aims at returning man to his central place in the country's economic, political, cultural and social life, in accordance with the principles of socialism. Socialist humanism, which has long prevailed in Lenin's homeland, will also be elevated to a higher level. To attain it, one will, in a nutshell, restructure the economy and strengthen democracy.

The so-called acceleration strategy recommends that the economy be taken from extensive to intensive production, and that systematic application be made of the latest achievements of the scientific and technological revolution. In economic management, bureaucratic centralism with the granting of administrative subsidies to enterprises with deficits is to be replaced by management based on profitability and self-financing. Planning is less rigid and more realist in this sense that it will take into account the law of value and other laws governing the market economy and will give enough leeway to production and service units for them to exercise autonomy and advance to self-management. The tertiary sector will be broadened, as in all advanced societies. The workman will receive wages and variable bonuses according to the result of his work, and he may "get rich" through his labour and within the limits of his capacity.

The strengthening of democracy and socialist legality goes together with economic renovation. *Glasnost* gives everyone the possibility of knowing all about the country's affairs and of having a say wherever necessary. Democratic centralism, criticism and self-criticism, as the Leninist principles governing the organization and functioning of the Communist Party, are again honoured. Not only leaders at the various levels of the administration, but also managers of enterprises, are to be elected, and an end is to be put to the farcical "one-candidate elections". A struggle is openly waged against the system of privileges and favours, corruption, abuse of power, irresponsibility, verbalism, everything that is connected with bureaucratism and parasitism. Prime importance is attached to the improvement of the working conditions and the material and spiritual welfare of the large mass of working people, who will decide the outcome of *perestroika*.

"On perestroika", said Rudolf Koltchanov, editor-in-chief of *Trud* (Labour), one of the biggest dailies in the world with a circulation of 18.5 million copies, "will depend the accomplishment of our Programme for Economic and Social Development until the year 2000. As is well known, this grandiose Programme's aim is to double our GNP by that date and to bring the quality of life in the Soviet Union to a most honourable level. In its capacity as organ of the Central Trade Union Council, our journal, which has a very large audience, is conscious of the role it is to play in *perestroika*. On this subject we maintain a "dialogue" with our readers; mailboxes are installed in all major enterprises and the workers are invited to voice their opinions. All the criticisms we have so far received concerning negative phenomena, leading cadres and various organizations have proved to be candid and constructive. Many people have sent in suggestions and proposals on various measures to be adopted. One may assert that the overwhelming majority of Soviet people are for *perestroika*."

"Are there any who are against?".

"That there should be no one against would be surprising", said R. Koltchanov. "People enjoying

(Continued on page 31)

VIETNAMESE PEOPLE SPEAKING ABOUT THE SOVIET UNION

On the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution Vietnam Courier has asked many Vietnamese working in different spheres of activity to speak about the Soviet Union.
For lack of space, we publish in this issue some of their ideas.

I have great respect for Russian literature, and my love goes to Dostoievski. My sympathy for the Soviet Union sprang at first from the Soviet literary works I read as a young school student. On one occasion more than ten years ago, returning from the Soviet Union, I decided to change my plane ticket to a railway one, in order to be able to enjoy Russian landscapes. I was thus able to see Lake Baikal, immense taiga stretches, vast expanses of steppe... It was a great pleasure to see with one's eyes what one had read in Turgeniev and Gogol. Cholokov could describe Russian barns and forester's lodges in such a way as to make his readers long to see them with their own eyes. That journey across the Soviet Union, from west to east, left me with unforgettable memories.

The Soviet Union is an immense and diverse land. Here one will come across many surprises. On another visit to the Soviet Union, I saw in a rural region in Georgia a mortar with a pestle worked by the foot, just like the kind used in the Vietnamese countryside for pounding rice, including the rope hanging from a beam and grabbed by the operator to steady himself. Indeed mankind is one.

Russian and Soviet literature is among the most read in Vietnam. During the war (of resistance to US aggression, *Ed.*), in 1968, I visited Khe Sanh where a fierce battle was under way, to find material for my projected novel "A Soldier's Trail". At a field hospital I found piles of books contributed by people in the rear for the soldiers at the front. Most books were translations of Russian and Soviet literary works. Some of the bulkier ones, like Tolstoi's *War and Peace*, were taken apart by voracious readers who took turns reading the pieces. Khe Sanh was carpet-bombed by American B.52s, but the ring of trenches and tunnels dug by our soldiers kept tightening around the fortress held by 6,000 American marines. In one of the trenches I picked up a book stained with blood. On its first page were these words written by some school-girl: "I will be your Natasha for ever."

In July 1986 I was a member of a Vietnamese delegation to the 8th Congress of Soviet writers. We were greatly interested in, and deeply moved by, the problems discussed at the congress. Bureaucratism in literary creation came under scathing attack. Literature

NGUYEN MINH CHAU,
Writer

should not avoid the problems posed by life. It was unanimously held that more should be written about the sufferings of the people. Even under socialism, people are still oppressed and suffer from injustices. Works by Bondarev, Aimatov, Granin, Kron and others are eloquent calls. Literature must also describe evil in its many elusive aspects.

Soviet literature seeks to make the nation and mankind one. Gone are the days when only heroic

characters are thought worth writing about. This is one of the reasons why Soviet literature has gained an ever wider audience in other countries. Soviet writers have spotted in Soviet society destinies that are just like others found in Turkey, Spain or any other country. Recent works have shown that Soviet men and women are not remote from the rest of the world. War is also looked at from new angles, tinged with greater humanism. War is not a theme to be treated light-heartedly.

The renewal of Soviet literature, the new problems it poses, are of great assistance to Vietnamese writers seeking renewal. Vietnamese literature has moved closer to life. As with Soviet works, it has shown great concern for man's fate. Le Luu's "The Distant Past" could not have been published only a few years ago. In my opinion there is one more similarity between the literatures of Vietnam and the Soviet Union. In the literary heritage of both countries, there is the same concern for the destiny of the nation. This will help modern literature in each country better to feel the pulse of the people's life.

There has been interflow between Vietnamese and Soviet literatures. Hundreds of Vietnamese works have been translated into Russian. Among them, I am proud to say, are some of my own: "A Soldier's Trail" and "Where the Fire Rages", two novels, and a collection of short stories, "The Woman on the Express Train". I cannot say I am fully satisfied with those works but I am nonetheless glad thinking that they may play a modest part in enhancing mutual understanding between the two peoples. ●

LE HONG VAN

26, recently earned a degree of candidate doctor of science (mathematics) from Lomonosov University in Moscow.

In 1983 I graduated with honours from college and was allowed to undertake post-graduate studies. Thus I was to remain a further three years in Moscow, an ideal place for would-be scholars. Of course I was overjoyed, but not without worries.

I returned to Vietnam for a short rest and returned to Moscow in early 1984. I came to see Professor Anatoli Fomenko, my former teacher and now my tutor. He wanted me to begin work right away so that I could finish my dissertation in two years' time.

My subject (minimal surfaces in Riemann multidimensional varietes) is rooted in 19th-century classical physics and Plateau's laboratory experiments. However, over the past few decades, new ideas have appeared in such fields as geometry, topology, algebra, functional analysis, calculus of variations, differential equations... and contemporary mathematicians have been dealing with minimal surfaces using new methods.

In early 1987 I successfully defended my thesis on "Minimal surfaces in Riemann homogeneous spaces". The fine results I reaped in my work cannot be separated from the assistance I received from Soviet teachers. All students in the mathematics department of Lomonosov University love the subjects of their studies. Vietnamese students are industrious and receive devoted assistance from the faculty. In recent years they have won many prizes in competitions at university, city or all-union levels. Some of their papers have been published in mathematical reviews.

I was carried away by this common enthusiasm. Anatoli Timofevich Fomenko taught me differential geometry when I was in the second year of college. His method was a very original one, and his drawings gave concrete expression to very abstruse subjects. His diction was clear and captivating. He never failed to give me effective encouragement whenever I found myself facing major difficulties. He also introduced me to other noted mathematicians. This allowed me to broaden both my knowledge and experience. I was able to appreciate the many qualities that radiate from great scientists. Their profound and original ideas had visible influence on their pupils.

We young Vietnamese mathematicians are fortunate to find ourselves in the midst of such a propitious environment as Lomonosov University, where great names of modern mathematics are working: Kolmogorov, Novikov, Gelfan...

The eight years I spent at Lomonosov make up a memorable episode of my life. I made there many friends. Tamara and Tania helped me improve my Russian and were a constant source of little joys. Olia, Nina, Luda, my classmates, often invited me to spend a few days at their homes — a real relief to my nostalgia. I had fruitful exchanges of views with other members of my research group: Alexei and Sacha in particular.

As is well known, students from many countries are studying at Lomonosov University. The majestic buildings on Lenin Hill are the common home of young people of many skin colours. Wherever one goes, one will see friendly faces and evidence of unselfish kindness. ●

February 1986. I was staying at the guesthouse of the Quang Ninh provincial committee. One day I noticed that staffers were eagerly looking for certain copies of the paper *Nhan Dan*. That was rather unusual: guesthouse staffers are not known as voracious newspaper readers. As I inquired about this sudden interest I learnt that it was about a certain report made by Boris Yeltsin to the Congress of the Moscow branch of the CPSU on 24 January (the translated report was carried by *Nhan Dan* on 18-19, February with a note by the editor.)

As a journalist, I found myself involved in an animated discussion. People all expressed their appreciation of Yeltsin's frankness, his candid criticism of shortcomings in the Soviet capital and indeed in each of its districts.

Some time later I went south to Ho Chi Minh City. The 27th CPSU Congress was over. One day, a friend who had travelled with me from the North showed me a letter he had just received from his wife in Hanoi. It said: "It's still very cold here in Hanoi although April has come. But the things I hear from the Soviet Union these days warm my heart." That was the way people felt in Vietnam.

For us journalists, the spirit of renovation upheld at the 27th CPSU Congress is an invaluable source of inspiration. For a very long time, the media in Vietnam have refused to face facts. What they reported were at best only half-truths, hence a big credibility gap. No wonder that honest people wanted the media to faithfully reflect the changing socio-economic conditions. Now, what the Soviet media are doing provide us Vietnamese journalists with eloquent examples, moral support, precious lessons. Our readers heartily welcome translations of articles published in *Pravda*, *Trud*, *Izvestia*, *Moscow News*, *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, etc.

THAI DUY

Journalist, Dai doan ket (great unity) weekly

In April, I wrote an article entitled «Whom Does the Press Serve?» which was warmly received. There were, of course, a few critics who did not agree with my assertion that «the media would not survive if it did not renovate itself.» In the view of the CPV, renovation means democratization and openness. Like the Soviet media, the Vietnamese media are facing many obstacles. There was a time in our country when self-congratulation was the order of the day. It did not take much effort for journalists to write praises. There was no need for investigative reporting. Even if you laid it on thick there was no harm. On the contrary, you may be wined and dined and showered with gifts.

Now, writing about negative phenomena is an uphill task. The slightest error will invite violent reaction. Reporting facts requires a great deal of investigation, painstaking gathering of evidence, and careful checking and double-checking. Reporters may even receive threats. These obstacles and difficulties notwithstanding, I firmly believe that the renovation of the media in Vietnam is an irreversible process, because it is in line with the resolution of the 6th Congress of the CPV and the growing trend

of renovation of social life in Vietnam.

Of special interest is a recent series of articles signed with the initials N. V. L. They pave the way for the Vietnamese media to renovate themselves completely so as to reflect life as it is, serve the masses more effectively, and provide the people with a rostrum from which to voice their wishes and criticisms.

The foundation of this renovation, as I have said, is the spirit of the 27th CPSU Congress and the renovation now under way in the Soviet media.

NGUYEN THI THU HANG
16, national champion in the women's high jump, having cleared 1.7 metres.

Even when I was quite young, 7 or 8, I felt great sympathy for the Soviet Union. The reason is simple: it's the homeland of Lenin, and my parents told me that Lenin was the man who had the greatest influence over our beloved Uncle Ho. In my eyes, all Europeans I saw in Hanoi, my native city, were Soviets. When I was in the second standard of primary school, I could say « Good morning » and « good » in Russian.

As I grew up and began practising sports my love and admiration for the Soviet Union also deepened. My training schedule was a packed one, but I always reserved some time for reading about sports in the Soviet Union.

In June 1987 I was a member of the team of Vietnamese trainees going to the Soviet Union. It was a great honour, one dreamt about by every Vietnamese young man and woman.

My stay in the Soviet Union has left me with unforgettable memories. The Soviet land is very beautiful and the Soviet people are open-hearted and hospitable. In daily life as in sports competitions they are courageous and resolute, yet very friendly. When we were there, the weather was very cold, indeed much too cold for people coming from the tropics. Our Soviet friends arranged for us to practise indoors although previous plans had provided otherwise. Outstanding Soviet athletes, among them Tamara Bykova, one of the foremost Soviet high-jumpers, and Evgeni Denia, an experienced coach, gave me close guidance all along. This allowed me to quickly improve my performance: in Vietnam I had cleared only 1.65 metres. Here this was occasionally raised to 1.75 metres. In the official competition, I jumped 1.7 metres. Tears of joy came to my eyes, not only because I had broken the Vietnamese national record for women, but also because I was given such warm cheers by the Soviet people in the stadium, including the umpire. I must say that one of the very favourable factors leading to my improved performance was the admirable condition of the sports facilities, something we don't have in Vietnam. I am truly grateful to our Soviet friends for their kind and effective guidance and assistance. I feel quite confident that I shall be able to further improve my performance in future.

I would like to say a few words about sports in the Soviet Union. It is widely known that the Soviet Union is a « sports power ». Soviet athletes rank among the first in the world in such fields as chess, gymnastics, pole vault, basket-ball volley-ball, track-and-field. I have also noted the mass character and the diversity of Soviet sports. Children, women, elderly people practise them in large numbers. Children in particular enjoy every favourable condition. The Moscow sports palace for juniors is a monumental 21-storeyed building in which youngsters can practise all kinds of sports. More than 3,000 of them come to the sports palace every day. Two principles are upheld: sports are a necessity for children, and all children may practise them.

I had occasion to visit the Moscow College of Sports and Physical Culture, a nursery for Soviet athletes. Some Vietnamese athletes have had the privilege of passing through its classes: Pham Tien Binh, Doan Thao, Nguyen Kim Xuan, Do Thanh Xuan... My dream is to be admitted to the College one day.

Soviet sports are characterised by humanism. Sports events are organized each year for physically handicapped people. I saw pictures of such events: basket-ball, javelin

throw, shotput, discus throw, chess... reserved for people paralysed in the lower half of their bodies. I feel great respect and admiration for them.

Lastly I must emphasize the dynamism of Soviet sports. Although Soviet athletes are now in the top ranks of world sports, they keep striving very hard to improve their performances and correct their shortcomings. At present great attention is being paid to reforms in Soviet association football. I don't know the details but I am none the less confident that, along with *perestroika* in the socio-economic field, reforms in sports, in football in particular, will lead to great results.

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I began studying painting when I was a child, but not until I came to the Soviet Union to study physics at the Moscow University was I able to take up painting seriously. I remember very well my first visit to the Hermitage in Leningrad in 1977. It had a decisive influence on my life. I was to pay this museum many subsequent visits. But that very first day there impressed me so strongly that I felt that I would be attached to painting for ever, that I wanted to become a painter.

Thus the Land of the Soviets introduced me, besides science, to the world of art. In the Soviet Union, people who love painting can find ample opportunities to devote themselves to the art. There are museums containing invaluable treasures; there are painting clubs; there are tuition-free schools. In libraries, one find very good books on painting techniques, on art history, on aesthetics. Painting equipment can easily be got at reasonable prices.

New prospects are opened to Soviet painting today. I was particularly interested in an exhibition for young painters held in late 1986, with professionalism the only criterion for selection and evaluation of the works. That new approach allowed artists greater scope for creation, and very interesting new themes were treated. There used to be only one place in the whole of Moscow where paintings could be bought: the Art Gallery. And only works of members of the Plastic Arts Association were on sale. Now there is an "art market" at Izmailovski Park, where all artists can display their paintings. That's a new idea, and I believe it will do a lot of good to artistic creation.

Now I wish to say something about the relationship between painting and physics, a science I have been doing research in for many years. I think art and science are two different aspects of man's quest for knowledge about nature. It is only very natural that a person should be interested in both art and science. That dual interest, I would say, is conducive to a balanced development of his intellect and creative power.

NGUYEN DINH DANG, *a 29-year-old physicist, has recently displayed some of his paintings at the Vietnam Soviet Friendship Workers' Cultural Palace in Hanoi. This was Dang's first solo exhibition in Vietnam. His previous six exhibitions were held in the Soviet Union, where he studied for nine years.*

As far as I am concerned, my passion for art has in no way interfered with my scientific research. I got my degree of candidate doctor of science in 1985. Now I am working at the Vietnam Institute of Sciences and I keep in touch with my Soviet friends.

I was very lucky to study under Professor Soloviev, a noted scientist, a very good man and a teacher who gives all his energies and time

to his students. He has been awarded a Friendship Medal by our Government for his part in training Vietnamese scientists.

I expect to return to Moscow at the end of this year for further studies in physics. I hope my next stay in the Soviet Union will help make me a better physicist and painter. ●

PHAM THANH XUAN, *16, is an 11th-former at the Amsterdam general-education school in Hanoi, majoring in Russian. At the 6th international competition in Russian and Russian literature, a triennal contest held in Moscow, she won a gold medal*

I began learning Russian when in primary school but I have been learning it in earnest only over the last three years, since I enrolled in a class for students majoring in this language at the Amsterdam school.

I must say that my choice was prompted by my parents' counsel, but I quickly liked the subject. The more so when I obtained good results at examinations. I decided that my interest at school and my future career would centre on the Russian language and Russian literature.

I know that a difficult road lies ahead. I am glad I've been given the opportunity to visit the Soviet Union, the land of Lenin, of the October Revolution, where people speak the language I am trying to learn. This visit fulfils a long-standing dream. How beautiful Moscow is! We were able to do a lot of sight-seeing: beauty spots, museums, the Kremlin, the Red Square, things we had known about only through books and pictures and what the teachers had told us. We also talked to Soviet people. They were kind-hearted and hospitable people.

What was particularly interesting and pleasurable about this competition is that it gave us the occasion to meet young people from many lands. For us it was not only an Olympiad in the Russian language and Russian literature but a real festival of friendship and peace. All the young people here could converse with each other in Russian. The Russian language allowed us to communicate, to talk to each other about our respective countries. Thus we were able to learn about the geography of Cuba, the monuments of India, the history of Afghanistan and particularly about the glorious April Revolution of its people; about the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, on which the American imperialists dropped the atomic bomb in 1945...

Although coming from far distant lands scattered over the five continents, we all shared the same dream: a peaceful world in which young people of all lands are friends. ●

As a child, I was greatly attracted by the cinema. There were quite a few films that have left deep impressions on my mind. During the years of the US air war, a film show at my village was always a great occasion. It also involved some risks. The projector and the screen had to be carefully shielded and a plan for instant evacuation of the audience had to be worked out before hand, in anticipation of air raids. The rarity of the shows and the risks involved, however, did not lessen in any way my enthusiasm for the "Seventh Art". I was always dreaming of becoming an actor. So I applied for admission to the cinematographic school in 1973 and passed the entry exams.

I have played a number of parts and I have realized that an actor's life is not a bed of roses. Art requires intensive work. The public and the critics have spoken favourably of two of my roles: a teacher in pre-revolutionary days, and a teacher of today. I had difficulty playing the former role because I knew nothing about life before 1945. I was not born yet. So I read a lot about that period and talked with people who knew about it. I worked very hard and was rewarded with some success.

NGUYEN HUU MUOI

Movie actor, graduated from a course for cinema-actors in 1977. Since then he has played several roles, both major and minor, all infused with life and making a deep impression on the public.

The Vietnam Cinematographic School has received important assistance from the Soviet Union. As early as 1959, a Soviet artiste, Adida Abraguimov, was sent here to help start the first course. Of the 50 or so of the first batch graduates, some have become very well-known, like directors Hai Ninh and Tran Vu, actresses Tra Giang and Tue Minh and actor Lam Toi. Many directors, scenarists, cameramen and theorists have been trained in the Soviet Union itself in subsequent years.

What we have learned from the Soviet cinema is its profound humanism, its great variety of style, and brilliant creativeness in treating problems of life. In particular, we are impressed by the great talents of Soviet artistes.

I shall soon go to the Soviet Union for further training. This will be a great honour and a great responsibility. It also testifies to our continued great interest in the Soviet cinema.

If I have a chance to study directing, which I like best, I will make every effort to try to master this art.

I hope that Vietnam and the Soviet Union will further develop cooperation in cinematography so that cinema workers in the two countries can learn ever more about each other. ●

FOR THE ELIMINATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN ASIA

Editor's Note: *The Statement made by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU General Secretary on 21 July 1987 in his interview in Moscow with the Indonesian journal* Merdeka *has had far-reaching repercussions in the world.*

On 28 July 1987, Nguyen Van Linh, General Secretary of the CPV Central Committee, granted an interview to Soviet Central Television in which he spoke of the Soviet peace initiative.

Below is the full text of his statement at this interview.

The world has welcomed a new Soviet peace initiative, one of great importance. In an interview with the Indonesian journal *Merdeka*, M.S. Gorbachev declared that the Soviet Union is ready to remove all medium-range missiles from its Asian territory if the United States does the same. All operational tactical missiles deployed there are also to be removed. This "global" double zero option proposed by the Soviet Union concerning the removal of medium-range and operational tactical missiles not only from Europe but also from Asia and other parts of the world is a creative and courageous decision reflecting the Soviet Union's determination to implement its programme of complete elimination of nuclear weapons by the end of this century as stated by M.S. Gorbachev on 15 January 1986. It is also a positive step in the peace strategy for Asia and the Pacific expounded by M.S. Gorbachev in Vladivostok one year ago in July 1986.

The new Soviet peace initiative is one of historic importance. It highlights the Soviet Union's high sense of responsibility and tireless efforts in the fight for peace and human life on our planet. It also meets the aspiration for peace of the peoples in Asia and the Pacific where the US imperialists are stepping up the arms race and stockpiling weapons of mass-destruction, seriously threatening the security of this vast and populous part of the world. This holds out prospects for a total elimination of these dangerous weapons which have already been deployed on a fairly large scale.

M.S. Gorbachev's new statement has had far-reaching repercussions throughout Asia and the rest of the world and has received worldwide support. The Communist Party and the people of Vietnam highly value and fully support the new Soviet initiative and demand that the United States positively respond to this highly constructive peace proposal of the Soviet Union.

THE JAPANESE COMMUNIST PARTY IS 65 YEARS OLD

On 15 July 1922, in Japan a political event of paramount importance for the toiling people took place: the birth of the Japanese Communist Party.

During its 23 years of underground activities (1922 — 1945), many Party leaders and members were killed or imprisoned and tortured. Despite the fascist and militarist monarchic regime which ruled the country, the Japanese Communist Party did not cease to develop and led the working class and toiling people in a vigorous struggle to defend their legitimate interests. The two manifestos passed at the enlarged plenums of the Party Central Committee in 1927 and 1932 made a clearsighted analysis of the situation in the country and in the world and correctly set these tasks for the Japanese people: to fight against capitalism and fascism, to coordinate their action with the struggle of the world's people against imperialist war and against the capitalists' interference in the affairs of the Soviet Union and China, and to support the struggle for independence of the colonial peoples.

In the past forty-odd years following the end of World War II, working in the open, the Japanese Communist Party has mustered workers and progressive democratic forces into a broad united front fighting for independence, democrary, peace and for Japan's non-alignment and neutrality.

The programme approved at the 8th Congress of the Japanese Communist Party (July 1961) and confirmed at its 17th Congress (November 1985) stresses that although Japan is a highly developed capitalist country, it is dependent on the US imperialists in the military, political and financial fields. On the one hand, the Japanese monopoly capitalists develop the economy, science and technology with the deliberate intent of creating a position of strength from which to "penetrate peacefully" into other countries; on the other, they strengthen Japan's defence potentials which are already disproportionate

to its needs. The attention of the world is now focused on the revival of « Japanese militarism » and on certain declarations to the effect that Japan is becoming an « unsinkable aircraft-carrier ».

The present struggle led by the Japanese Communist Party is aimed at opposing the collusion between Japan and the US and eliminating the harsh rule of the Japanese monopoly capitalists, financiers and militarists. It requires that the Party should further close its ranks and strengthen its solidarity with the world's people.

Inspired by a spirit of proletarian internationalism, the Japanese Communist Party consistently supported our struggle for national independence and freedom: it regarded our victory in May 1975 as "a great success for socialism, a historic world event contributing to changing the balance of forces in Asia and in the world". With regard to the present struggle of the three Indochinese countries, the Japanese Communist Party observes a very correct attitude. This is a most precious encouragement and support for our people.

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FINE DEVELOPMENT OF KAMPUCHEA'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

A high-level Party and State delegation of the People's Republic of Kampuchea led by Heng Samrin, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party and President of the State Council, paid an official friendship visit to the People's Republic of Poland late in July this year. Then it went on to Moscow, where in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding General Secretary Heng Samrin held talks with M.S. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

In the official talks in Poland, particularly at the meeting between Heng Samrin and W. Jaruzelski, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, the two sides expressed satisfaction at the development of Kampuchean-Polish relations, affirmed their determination to strengthen and broaden their friendship and cooperation in all fields in the interest of the peoples of the two countries, and highly valued the bold initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries aimed at consolidating peace and security in the world. On this occasion, the two sides signed a cooperation agreement on the restoration of a number of temples in Angkor Wat, a protocol on the establishment of a consulate of the People's Republic of Kampuchea in Warsaw and a protocol on opening an air route between Phnom Penh and Warsaw. They examined the prospects for stepping up trade between the two countries, discussed a programme of economic cooperation, and put forward a co-operation plan for 1987 — 1990.

In the talks between M.S. Gorbachev and Heng Samrin, the two sides affirmed their wish to broaden and strengthen the relations of friendship and cooperation between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party, and examined the development of Soviet — Kampuchean relations in the political, economic and cultural fields.

In Warsaw as in Moscow, the top leaders of Poland and the Soviet Union highly valued the great achievements scored by the Kampuchean people in the defence and building of their country, emphasized their unity of views on the situation in Kampuchea and fully supported the efforts of the People's Republic of Kampuchea aimed at achieving a political solution for the Kampuchean problem through national reconciliation so as to contribute to the cause of peace and security in Asia and the Pacific.

The success of the visits by President Heng Samrin marked a new development in the relations of the People's Republic of Kampuchea with Poland and the Soviet Union and helped strengthen the friendship, militant solidarity, and fraternal cooperation between the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the socialist community. These international activities which were followed closely by political circles in Southeast Asia and the world show that the correct internal and external policy of the People's Republic of Kampuchea is winning increasing sympathy and support from world opinion and that its international prestige is on the rise.

The Vietnamese people warmly hail this fine development of relations between the People's Republic of Kampuchea on the one hand and the Soviet Union, Poland, and other fraternal socialist countries on the other. It strengthens the Kampuchean revolution and all three countries on the Indochinese peninsula and works for the interest of their peoples, for peace, stability, cooperation and development in Southeast Asia, Asia and the world.

JOINT PRESS COMMUNIQUE ON THE OFFICIAL FRIENDSHIP VISIT TO VIETNAM BY THE INDONESIAN FOREIGN MINISTER

Editor's Note: At the invitation of Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach, the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Dr Mochtar Kusuma-Atmadja, paid an official visit to Vietnam from 27 to 29 July 1987. The two ministers held frank and constructive talks on problems of mutual concern. The visit ended with a joint press communiqué.
Following is its full text.

1. During the visit, Prof. Dr Mochtar Kusuma-Atmadja was received by Nguyen Van Linh, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam, and Pham Hung, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. He was also received by Doan Duy Thanh, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Foreign Trade.

2. Prof. Dr Mochtar Kusuma-Atmadja held talks with Nguyen Co Thach, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. The talks were held in an atmosphere of cooperation, mutual respect and trust, and contributed to the strengthening of the relations of friendship and cooperation between the two countries, to the consolidation of peace in Southeast Asia, and to the search for a political solution to the Kampuchean problem.

3. The two sides decided to reconvene at a date to be mutually agreed the working group, a bilateral forum between Indonesia and Vietnam, to discuss the problem of Kampuchea and other related problems of Southeast Asia.

4. About Indonesia's idea of a "cocktail party", an understanding was reached that it is to be an informal meeting of the two Kampuchean sides, to be held on the basis of equality, without pre-conditions, and with no political label attached, following which Indonesia will invite other countries concerned including Vietnam. The Foreign Minister of Vietnam stated that he would give active consideration to this idea and would consult his colleagues in the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the People's Democratic Republic of Laos.

5. The two sides agreed to further promote bilateral relations, particularly in the fields of economy and trade.

6. The Indonesian Foreign Minister extended an invitation to Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister for Foreign Affairs Nguyen Co Thach to pay an official visit to Indonesia. The invitation was warmly accepted, and the date of the visit will be fixed through diplomatic channels.

7. The Indonesian Foreign Minister, on behalf of his party and on his own behalf, expressed gratitude and appreciation for the warm welcome and kind hospitality accorded to him and his party by the Government and people of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam during their visit.

Ho Chi Minh City, 29 July 1987

A press phenomenon? Yes, that's what it is.

There have been periods in the past decades when readers followed with keen attention what was printed in the press and considered it a source of enlightenment and confidence. During the years preceding the August Revolution in 1945 the underground papers *Cuu Quoc* (National Salvation) and *Co Giai Phong* (Liberation Banner) played the role of a beacon for public opinion, and continued to do so after the triumph of the revolution. During the ensuing resistance wars against the French then the US imperialists, the revolutionary press was a source of inspiration for every patriotic Vietnamese engaged in the struggle.

However, soon after the war ended in 1975, the press somehow lost its power of attraction vis-à-vis the general public. Not that there was a lack of events and problems worth being informed about and discussing. Far from it. Innumerable questions, big and small, related to the development of the country and indeed to the preoccupations of each citizen including many contradictions in social life, had emerged and were assuming an ever more pressing character. Readers expected timely accounts and deep-going analyses from the press. But there were not many of these. In the official press the readers found only ideas obviously coming from above, and illustrations thereof. What was practised by the press was dubbed "illustrationism". There was visible difference between what actually happened and what was reported. This led to public indifference and the press gradually lost its former magnetic appeal.

However, for nearly a year now, especially in the past several months, the Vietnamese press has regained this power of appeal. This is because the newspapers now report the facts in all their complexity and the conflicts they involve. The press has ceased to be solely the carrier of information and instruction from above and has begun to be a forum for the masses, a source of "information from below", supplying feedback.

This "press phenomenon" consists essentially in the fact that the press has begun to "face the truth squarely, assess it, and tell people about it" even if this annoys some people, and even if the facts reported contravene the principles of socialism.

THE "PRESS PHENOMENON" IN VIETNAM

In the emergence of this "phenomenon the impact can be seen of the lessons highlighted at the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In the Vietnamese press the public find information about the struggle to restructure Soviet social life. This has been a great stimulus for renovation, among both Vietnamese journalists and readers. But it would be wrong to say that the current trend toward renovation in the Vietnamese press has been brought about by outside influence.

In fact, one will prescribe the same medicament for two social bodies if they suffer from the same or similar diseases. They will produce the same or similar antibodies. It is not by accident that openness, criticism and self-critic-

ism, democratization of social life, the fight against bureaucratism, favouritism and irresponsibility, etc., are now outstanding features of both the Soviet and the Vietnamese press.

Nguyen Ngoc, a noted writer, recently discussed the "press phenomenon" in the weekly review *Van Nghe* (Literature and Arts). He considered it to be an aspect of people's power. "The press," he said, "is becoming a formidable weapon allowing the people to supervise all social processes." What should be stressed here, as many articles in the press have pointed out, is that there is a "convergence of the Party's will and the people's aspiration". It is the Communist Party of Vietnam which has, by adopting historic resolutions at its Sixth Congress held in late 1986, launched the movement for democratization of social life which finds some of its expression in the "press phenomenon". For their part the broad masses of the people are becoming the central figure in the current renovation of social life, including that of the press.

The unveiling of such facts — which indeed reflect only a small part of the negative aspects of our society at present — sets everyone, from the man in the street to the highest leaders of the Party and the State, pondering over the danger facing our socialist regime and our Party and State. At the same time, the press reports also testify to the strength of the regime, the Party, the State, and the people in the fight against this danger.

Already, the Party has decided where to begin in tackling the momentous job of getting the country out of the present situation, the result of the accumulation of difficulties and mistakes over a decade and more. Everyone knows that the fight against negative phenomena is not a panacea likely to cure all the many ills affecting the country. In fact, the picture has not yet grown much brighter even since the movement was given a fillip by the publication on 25 May 1987 of the first of the articles entitled "Things to be done at once" by an author signing them with the initials N.V.L. But one thing is certain: without this open criticism in the press of the wrongdoings, no remedial measures, however well conceived, can be successfully applied.

This is to be a sweeping revolutionary struggle by millions of people, in which the press is to be a courageous vanguard.

As any revolutionary struggle, it is coming up against opposition by people who choose to stand on the other side of the line. The difference with other struggles is that whereas in the latter the enemies are plainly visible, in this one the forces of opposition are often composed of bureaucratic and corrupt elements within the Party and State apparatus who, unfortunately, may occupy responsible posts at different echelons: they are former "comrades". Their reaction often consists in "counselling caution", or "criticizing from positions of responsibility", or especially, "observing a fearsome silence" in the words of N.V.L.

Their customary tactics is to charge the press with "blackening" the regime thus exposing it to "enemy attacks". But the Vietnamese revolution under the Party's leadership is moving forward and achieving ever greater maturity. The press is now one of the most powerful weapons wielded by the Party in taking tens of millions of people into a new struggle for a renewal of our social life, — an effort of which the kingpin is the cleaning of the Party and State apparatus.

The present "press phenomenon" in Vietnam is not confined to the denunciation of negative phenomena in society and demanding that they be severely dealt with. The press is also the forum for public discussion of crucial problems of the revolution at present: questions of policies and lines, of organisation and guidance. Some problems may seem rather remote but are in fact organically linked to the current efforts for general renewal — the renovation of the way of thinking for instance. Not everything has been fully discussed in the press. Readers might also detect shortcomings in concrete proposals concerning this or that affair. Even in press circles, not every paper and not every journalist have completely given up a "wait-and-see" attitude. Some "uncertain trumpets" are heard. But in spite of all this, the "press phenomenon" truly represents a revolutionary change and an irreversible process. The press will constitute more and more the unified voice of the Party and the people.

VU KIEN

ON THE ARTICLES SIGNED N. V. L.

For over a month now, in the Party daily *Nhan Dan*, a series of articles signed with the initials N.V.L. have castigated the negative phenomena in our socio-economic life. These articles express the Party's determination to overcome the ugly phenomena standing in the way of social progress; the severe demands on leading cadres at all echelons, in all branches of activity, in all localities and units, particularly on those departments which are in charge of large quantities of the country's resources or of the enforcement of laws; confidence in, and demand on, the press to fulfil its responsibilities in the struggle against negative phenomena; and especially boundless confidence in the people's immense strength in this struggle. That is why those articles have received and are receiving wide acclaim among cadres, Party members and the people at large.

What comes out clearly from the writings of N.V.L. is the following: we must take the struggle against negative phenomena out in the open in order to make the most of the immense power of the media and of public opinion, according to the principle "The people are the foundation of everything". Of course, openness in the press in no way contradicts the necessity of keeping State secrets, something all media must observe.

Practical experience has shown that failing strong pressure from public opinion (exerted via the media) the struggle against negative phenomena under the leadership of our Party cannot be successful. Indeed, it would be sheer illusion to expect "spontaneous atonement" from people who have been stealing socialist property in a systematic and serious way; from people who have abused their positions to embezzle public money, accept bribes, act in collusion with bad elements outside State organs in wrongdoings; from degenerate elements who have become "revolutionary mandarins" oppressing the people, bad people who conduct brutal reprisals against those denouncing them, and live a life of luxury and depravation from the products of their crimes. Only by bringing strong public pressure to bear on that "vermin", through concrete actions and pressure through the press, that broadest of forems, only by giving strong support to law-enforcement organs and fighting against negative phenomena under the judicious and resolute leadership of the Party can we defeat them.

N.V.L. also writes: "One must use the aggregate strength of the system of proletarian dictatorship (comprising Party organizations, State organs and mass organizations) in the fight against negative phenomena, against wrongdoers who have seriously harmed the interests of the country and the people".

Concerning the Party and the State, he says: "The Party and the State are resolved to purify the ranks of cadres and raise their sense of responsibility", "leading cadres at all levels must set good examples, guard against corruption, bureaucratism and factionalism, preserve their prestige and act seriously and clear-sightedly". He adds: "Our Party and our State will not allow any individual or collective to stay outside our laws and regulations".

N.V.L. calls on law-enforcement authorities to "single out major offences for severe punishment and publicize the results of these drives".

He recommends that competent organs "investigate the damage done by wrongdoers, severely punish them, and make everything known to the public through the press", adding: "revelations by the people and the media must be noted and acted upon, and queries must be answered".

To the public and the press he makes these recommendations: "There must be immediate mass protests against wrongdoings by individual cadres or government departments"; "information and propaganda organs must expose and criticize by name all individuals, government departments, and organizations that contravene Party and State policies"; "the public and information organs must continue to lend their support to law-enforcement and other responsible organs for rapid, accurate investigation and radical correction of all abuses".

Thus the fundamental measures, which will ensure a victorious struggle against negative phenomena, have been laid down. We may congratulate ourselves on the fact that a new momentum has been given to this effort by N.V.L.'s articles.

However, great difficulties still lie ahead. The struggle against negative phenomena will be complex, fierce, and time-consuming. It will be complex because it is conducted against many categories of wrongdoers: there is collusion between bad elements, speculators, smugglers, thieves; in some cases the enemy may have wormed his way in; we must also keep our head and differentiate those who deliberately violate the law from those who unwittingly contravene principles and State laws. This struggle will be a fierce one because it will run into opposition, even violent counter-attacks, by people who should have been "put in clink" long ago, yet have got off scot-free and are using their positions to bully or their money to buy over people, and who, worse still, have found refuge under fairly big "umbrellas"!

This struggle will also be time-consuming because negative phenomena have a social basis in our country, which is only in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism. Besides, ugly vestiges will remain long after great changes have happened in various socio-economic fields.

This calls for all progressive and revolutionary forces in the country to heighten their sense of responsibility and to be clear-headed, persevering and courageous in this struggle.

Likewise with regard to the press, besides raising their sense of social responsibility, journalists must display a courageous and scientific attitude in this complex and fierce struggle. We fear no reprisals for we are conscious of our sacred mission in the defence of truth, for we have confidence in the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Nguyen Van Linh, in the support and protection of the people, in truth and human conscience.

We shall also maintain an objective and scientific attitude in each affair and shall not allow distortions

(Continued on page 29)

HA LONG BAY

One of the seaside villas.

Rocky islets dotting the Bay.

Les Merveilles du Monde, (Wonders of the World)[1] ranks Vietnam's Ha Long Bay among the world's wonders.

While such beauties as the Egyptian Pyramids, Indian temples, stone porticos of Greek ruins, domes of churches in Rome are outstanding achievements of human labour, Ha Long Bay is a wonder of nature.

Ha Long, studded with multiform rocky islets is a real splendour. Scattered over an area of 1,500 square kilometres, this myriad of islets have inspired many Vietnamese and foreign poets, writers and artists.

Sailing among them, one gets the impression of wandering in a world of giant animals turned into fossils millions of years ago. These rocks are fittingly named Rong (Dragon), Khi (Monkey), Coc (Toad), Rua (Tortoise), Ga Choi (Game Cock) because of their strikingly evocative shapes. As your motor boat or sailing junk glides past them you will admire the elaborate carvings done by the sea at their feet. Some rocks are so eroded by sea water that one fears they would topple in a gale. Yet they have been there for ages. Let us visit Monkey island. Swarms of monkeys are frolicking among the trees, jumping from branch to branch. At the sound of a bell, they would flock to a certain place where they are given their rations of food. They are bred by an experimental farm of the Vietnam Health Department, which uses them to prepare a vaccine against poliomyelitis.

The beauty of Ha Long Bay also lies in the interior of its numberless caves: Dau Go, Bo Nau, Trinh Nu... The three bays of Dau Go grotto are crammed with weird-looking stalactites and stalagmites. One looks like the menacing head of a lion, another like a Buddha lost in meditation, another rises like a Cham tower... Some of the caves are dotted with fresh-water wells. The glimmering light reflected by the water in these ponds enhances the mysterious splendour of these interiors. Tourists have dubbed Dau Go the Grotto of Marvels.

Around Hon Rong and Hon Trong, which lie farther off shore, in the limpid water, banks of jade green or pink coral are half hidden under the maze of seaweeds.

Hang Manh is a 2km-long tunnel which you will visit only after lighting a torch. Your boat glides between walls of piled rocks on a twisted course. The air is soothingly fresh and cool and the water splashes at each stroke of the oars. As you go further into the tunnel, the mystery grows. The stalactites and stalagmites assume even stranger shapes than in other caves. A rock looks like a huge hollow vessel and is dubbed Rice Jar; another is a diamond-studded stupa. A huge one mounts upwards from the floor and stands like a gigantic column covered with glittering beads. A large depression in the rocky wall looks as though it may serve as a stage for the performance of a play. Deeper and deeper your boat sails along the tunnel into a more and more mysterious world until suddenly there is light. Beyond the glowing opening is the blue sea.

Travelling five kilometres to the north, one arrives at Hon Gai town, with coal mines in the background and Mount Bai Tho in front, from the top of which you will have a panoramic view of the Bay — alive with fishing boats whose white and brown sails look like seagulls skimming the surface of the water. At souvenir shops in Hon Gai you can buy tree-shaped pieces of coral, gorgeous shells, rattan basketry... From chunks of shining black coal, local artisans make statuettes and figurines of many shapes: dancing girl, tiger playing with a ball, galloping horse...

Ha Long Bay is rich in sea products: shrimp, cuttlefish, crab, holothurian, abalone. Here you may taste delicacies prepared from lobster, cuttle fish, crab... Grilled oysters are eaten with a touch of salt, pepper and lemon juice.

Ha Long Bay is indeed a must for foreign tourists. Many who have visited it wish to come back again and again.

NGUYEN THI LAN

1. *Hachette Pub., Paris, 1950.*

ON THE ARTICLES...

(Continued from page 27)

and slanders by bad elements in State organs and in society at large to create "statics" which will prevent us from clearly perceiving the true facts. In order to write accurately, we journalists must closely cooperate with law-enforcement agencies, listen to opinions on all sides, sift out facts, and conduct serious and cautious investigations. Because the media constitute a sharp weapon, because public opinion is a mighty force, we should be all the more conscious of our responsibilities. We should report only truthful and accurate facts, thereby enhancing our influence on society. Another very important thing is that we should seriously put ourselves under the leadership of the Party. At the same time we shall expect Party authorities at all levels, all leading comrades in State organs, from the centre to the grassroots, to give us guidance and support and lend protection to upright journalists who are selflessly fighting for the truth, for the victory of the present struggle against negative phenomena. This struggle will be a severe test for all organizations and all individuals in our society, whatever their positions.

By so doing, the media will prove ever more effective in the revolutionary effort in general and in the struggle against negative phenomena in particular, thereby proving themselves to be worthy of the confidence of the Party and the people.

Tap Chi Cong San
Article appearing in the July-1987 issue of (the *Review of Communism*).

KEY SPORTS EVENT OF THE YEAR

At present in Vietnam over 10 million general-education students regularly practise physical exercises and sports (accounting for one-sixth of the population). In national championships, juniors have taken the highest places in such fields as gymnastics, swimming, track events, table-tennis, and chess.

However, before 1980, the sports movement among the youth developed only in some big cities such as Ho Chi Minh City, Hanoi and Hai Phong. Only a small number of youngsters took part in national championships. Although such sports as wrestling, tabletennis, gymnastics, boxing for juniors were encouraged. they did not attract a very large number of them. Starting in 1979, the Ministry of Education, the Physical Culture and Sports Department, the Central Committee of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union and the Central Committee for Children have launched a movement of physical culture and sports for the young including the organization of Phu Dong spartakiads for general-education schools and youngsters in districts and provinces. Now a national Phu Dong spartakiad for juniors takes place once every five years, attended by seeded young athletes from local Phu Dong spartakiads throughout the country.

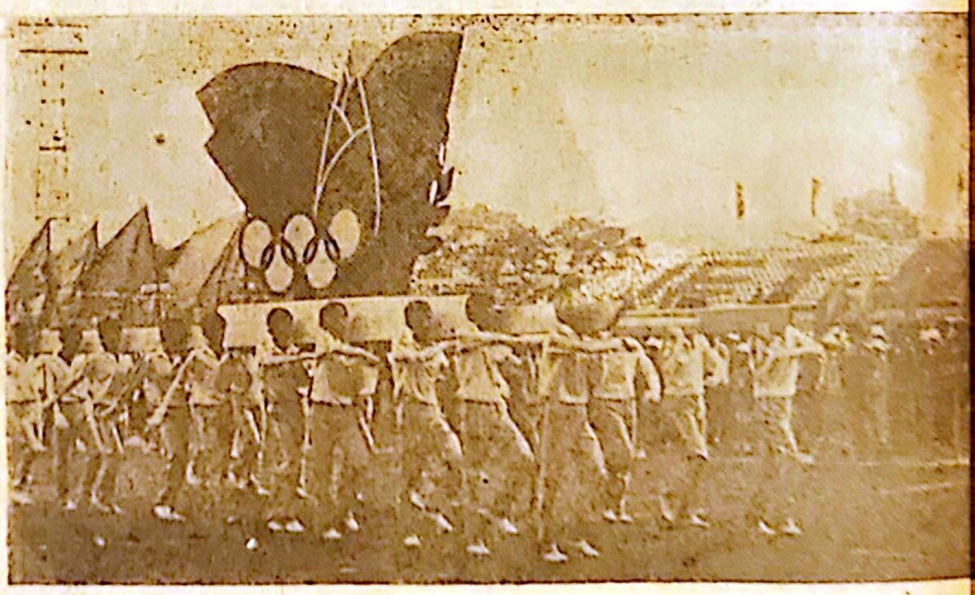
Phu Dong, the name of a village in Ha Bac province, is familiar to the Vietnamese people. Legend has it that when the country was invaded by Chinese *An* aggressors in ancient times, the king called on talented people to save the nation. Upon hearing the herald's appeal, a three-year-old child of Phu Dong village drew himself up into a powerful warrior who, wielding an iron stick and riding a fire-spitting iron horse, drove away the aggressors. This child hero of Phu Dong became the symbol of young heroes fighting for national salvation in subsequent wars of resistance to foreign aggression. At present, the name of Phu Dong is given to sports spartakiads for juniors.

In October 1983, the first Phu Dong spartakiad was held in Hanoi, attended by 737 athletes from 36 provinces competing in six fields: swimming, track-and-field, table-tennis, free style wrestling, gymnastics, and chess.

From 19 to 26 July last, the second Phu Dong spartakiad was organised in Ho Chi Minh City. It was the biggest sports event of the year for the youth. For one year before the event meticulous preparations had been made for its organization. All stadiums, swimming pools, gymnasiums in the city were in good trim.

The spartakiad was attended by 1,070 athletes from 40 provinces. To the events which had been competed in at the first spartakiad were added three others: football, volley-ball and badminton.

On 19 July, the inauguration ceremony was held at Thong Nhat (Unification) Stadium in the presence of Vo Chi Cong and Pham Hung, respectively President of the State Council and Chairman of the Council of Ministers. In his opening speech Minister of Education Pham Minh Hac called on the young athletes to uphold a spirit of solidarity and fair play and to learn from each other's experience. In the name of the athletes, Nguyen Thu Hang, an outstanding female high-jumper from Hanoi, gave the pledge that they would show themselves to be worthy of the confidence of the Party and the State.



The parade and combined exercises by thousands of school children were rated as the most spectacular ones performed in Vietnam so far. The torch kindled at the Ho Chi Minh Mausoleum in Hanoi after travelling 1,740 kilometres in 19 days, was put to a raised vessel at the stadium by Nguyen Van Thuong, an athlete of Ho Chi Minh city. The spartakiad fire sprang into life. The spartakiad flag was then hoisted as part of the rituals of a grand sports meeting.

In seven days of spirited competition supervised by 200 umpires, the athletes achieved outstanding results, breaking nine national records. These still modest achievements, it should be emphasized, were obtained by juniors lacking training facilities and living in difficult circumstances.

The newly set records are as follows:

— 800m free-style swimming (men): 9'38.4" (old record: 9'44.6").

— 50m free-style swimming (women): 30.2" (old record: 31").

— 100m butterfly stroke (women): 1'6.6" (old record: 1'7.6").

— 200m medley-style swimming (women): 2'37.5" (old record: 2'41").

— 4 × 100m relay swimming (women): 5'0.9" (old record: 5'1.1").

— Shotput (women): 11.37m (old record: 11.06m).

— 200m race (women): 25.4"

— 4 × 100m relay race (women): 49.5"

— 4 × 400m relay race (women): 4'4.9".

The Ho Chi Minh City team topped the list of winners, having broken 7 national records and won 131 medals and the banner for the "Outstanding Team". The Hanoi team ranked second with 86 medals, and Long An occupied the third place with 30 medals.

Special prizes were awarded to Nguyen Thu Hang (Hanoi) for her record in the high jump (1.68m), equal to the record set at the Southeast Asia Games in December 1985, Nguyen Kieu Oanh (Ho Chi Minh City) for her three swimming records and the gymnast Hoang To Linh (Ho Chi Minh City), who won the greatest number of gold medals (4).

At the closing ceremony, messages were sent to the President of the World Peace Council, the President of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the UN General Secretary, the President of the Soviet Peace Committee, assuring them of the love of peace of the Vietnamese youth and calling on friends in the world to fight for peace and against nuclear war.

Also on the closing day, the Phu Dong flag was handed over to the organizing committee of the third Phu Dong spartakiad for juniors, to be held in Da Nang in 1992.

"Keep fit in order to study well,
Keep fit in order to serve the country."

Such is the motto of the generation of young people who are taking their inspiration from the Phu Dong spartakiads.

KIEN AN

PERESTROIKA...

(Continued from page 14)

undue privileges and those seeking to fish in troubled waters would certainly prefer that their preserves and shady areas be left undisturbed. But they are only a minority. Besides they do not constitute an organized opposition. Among them there are people with sense and partisans of socialism who, for one reason or another, have gone astray. We do not regard them as enemy of *perestroika*. The enemies of *perestroika* are in the other camp. In many cases, they are also enemies of socialism and peace".

I was later to visit several enterprises, industrial and agricultural, in the regions of Moscow and Kiev where balanced management has been accomplished. Before, all profits, or almost, had to be remitted to the State; now up to 70% of them can be kept, 30% will be devoted to re-equipment. The rest is for increases to salaries and bonuses, improvement of working and housing conditions, acquisition of cultural, health-care and educational facilities, for rest and tourism, etc.

However, though a foreigner, I learnt that a septuagenarian partisan of authoritarianism had exclaimed: "Why *perestroika*? What we need is a Stalin". Of course, such a profession of faith struck a jarring note. Speaking of a former leader who belonged to the same authoritarian school, another Moscovite told me: "You have a good memory, remembering his name. Yes, he was an alcoholic. But even more than for vodka he was thirsty for power."

I forgot to say that *perestroika* also involves a struggle against alcoholism, the age-old scourge of Russian society. One rightly sees in it a struggle of the new against the old on all planes, including that of ethics.

• • •

From the sphere of practical activities, changes come to theory, and the discrepancy between it and the exigencies of life is exposed. Dogmatism, scholastic.

(Continued on page 32)

CHRONOLOGY • CHRONOLOGY

(15 July — 14 August)

JULY

16 — 17. *Hanoi:* Holding of an Asian-Pacific Trade Union Seminar on Education and Employment for Young Workers.

17. *Hanoi:* Holding of a grand meeting to celebrate the 10th anniversary of the signing of the Vietnam-Laos Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation (18 July 1977 — 18 July 1987).

17 — 19. *Casablanca:* A CPV delegation led by Phan Minh Tanh, member of the Party Central Committee and Head of its Commission for Mass Work, attends the Fourth Congress of the Progressive and Socialist Party of Morocco.

19 — 26. *Ho Chi Minh City:* Holding of the Second Phu Dong National Sports Festival. (See article on page 30).

20. A delegation of the Ministry of Soil Improvement and Water Conservation of the Soviet Union led by Minister N. Ph. Vasiliev, member of the CPSU Central Committee, concludes its official visit to Vietnam begun on 14 July 1987.

20 — 24. A delegation of the Japanese Kyodo News Agency headed by its President and Director General Shinji Sakai, visits Vietnam.

24. Nguyen Minh Phuong, Vietnamese Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the People's Republic of China, presents his credentials signed by Vo Chi Cong, Chairman of the SRV State Council to Ulanhu, Vice-President of the People's Republic of China.

25. *Moscow:* E.A. Shevardnadze, Political Bureau member of the CPSU Central Committee and Soviet Foreign Minister, receives Nguyen Manh Cam, member of the CPV Central Committee and Vietnamese Ambassador to the Soviet Union. E.A. Shevardnadze expresses warm support for the positive actions undertaken by the Socialist Republic of Vietnam with a view to making Southeast Asia a zone of peace, stability and cooperation.

26. President of the SRV Council of State, Vo Chi Cong, sends a message of greeting to the conference of Heads of State and Government of member countries of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), reaffirming the constant and resolute support of the people and Government of the SRV for the struggle of the African peoples for independence and development.

+ The daily *Nhan Dan* reports the inauguration in Ho Chi Minh City of the Huong Duong (Sunflower) satellite earth station, a project jointly built by the Overseas Telecommunications Commission of Australia and the Vietnam Postal Service.

27 — 29. Foreign Minister of the Republic of Indonesia, Professor Dr Mochtar Kusuma-Atmadja, pays an official friendship visit to Vietnam. (See Press Communique on page 24).

27 July — 3 August. A Vietnamese table-tennis team takes part in the International Table-Tennis Contest sponsored by the journal *Olympic Panorama* and held in Irkutsk (Soviet Union).

28 July — 6 August. A delegation of the Soviet State Committee for Agriculture and Industry led by Minister E.I. Sidenko, its First Vice-Chairman, visits Vietnam.

30 — 31. *Ho Chi Minh City:* Holding of a conference by the Ministry of Health to review the results of the expanded vaccination programme for 1985 — 1986.

31 July — 3 August. *Phnom Penh:* Holding of the eighth meeting of the Kampuchea — Laos — Vietnam Commission for Economic and Cultural Cooperation.

AUGUST

1 — 3. John Vessey, special envoy of the US President, visits Vietnam where he holds talks on humanitarian issues with Vietnamese authorities.

6 — 13. A delegation of the Lao Ministry of Commerce, led by Vice-Minister Chanpheng Bounnaphon, pays a friendship visit to Vietnam.

7. *Ho Chi Minh City:* Chairman of the Council of Ministers Pham Hung receives the presidents of Overseas Vietnamese Associations in West Berlin, Belgium, Canada, the FRG and France.

11. Chairman of the Council of Ministers Pham Hung receives a delegation of the Indian Company CIMMCO International led by Guayon, its Executive President, coming to Vietnam to attend the third session of the Vietnam-CIMMCO Coordination Committee.

12. *Phnom Penh:* Opening of the conference of deputy foreign ministers of Kampuchea, Laos and Vietnam.

13. *Hanoi:* Holding of a grand meeting to mark the 40th Independence Day of the Republic of India (15 August 1947 — 15 August 1987).

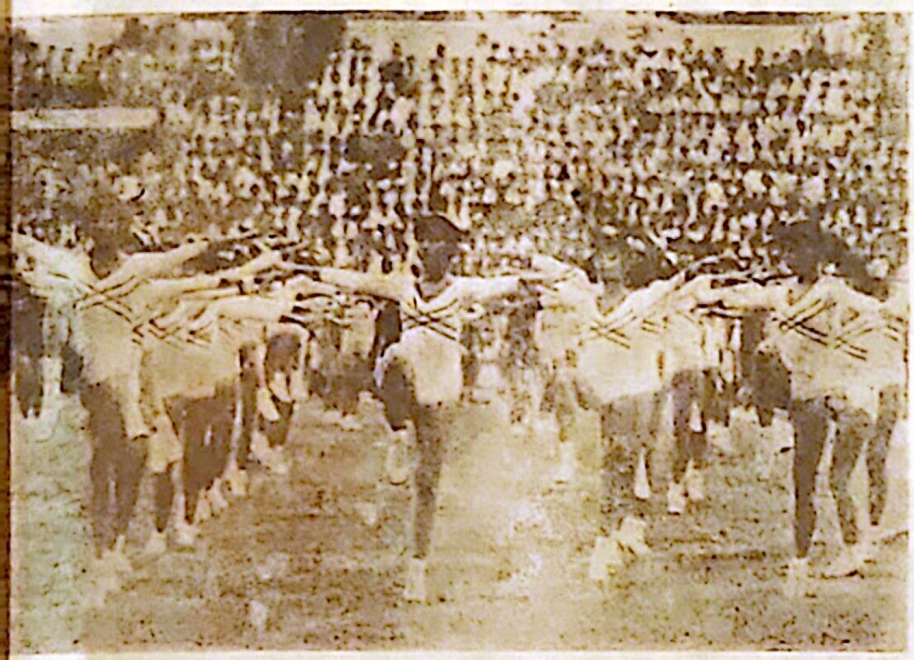
PERESTROIKA...

(Continued from page 31)

mental laziness, the absence of civic courage, insensitiveness to the problems of the time, which are at the origin of theory lagging behind, are castigated. A return to fundamental communist methods is recommended: search for truth and struggle of ideas, in a democratic spirit. New problems are posed to Marxist-Leninist theory by new realities in the Soviet Union and in the world. This theory is to be thought over, reinvigorated and enriched, as was done by Lenin to prepare the ground for the Great October Revolution.

Perestroika, M.S. Gorbachev has said, demands that one should give up many things and start work at others anew. With it, the Soviet people have ignited the second stage of the rocket carrying their destiny. They are pioneering the way to a renewal of socialism, which is suffering from stagnation, even from rachitis on a world scale, for failing to free itself from hindrances of the past. Vietnamese socialism, which is going through a grave crisis of growth, is particularly beholden to Soviet *perestroika* for the example and the inspiration it provides: with the Sixth National Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam, the Vietnamese have thought their problems over and have embarked on a reorganization of their society in the direction of scientific communism.

• *Athletes of Ho Chi Minh City taking part in the lighting of the ceremonial fire.*



• *Aerobics performance at the opening ceremony.*

THE SECOND PHU DONG NATIONAL SPORTS FESTIVAL

• *Swimmer Kieu Oanh of Ho Chi Minh City.*

Photos: PHAN SANG

SRV - USSR ECONOMIC TECHNOLOGICAL AND SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION

● *Commissioning of the No. 1 turbine generator at the Pha Lai Thermopower Plant.*

Photo: CAM BINH

● *Soviet cabbage test-planted in Vietnam.*

Photo: NGOC ANH

● *Assembling of the Lotus satellite earth station.*

Photo: PHUONG HUNG